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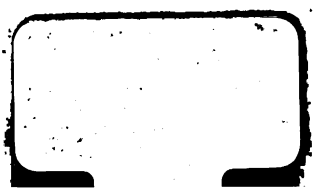

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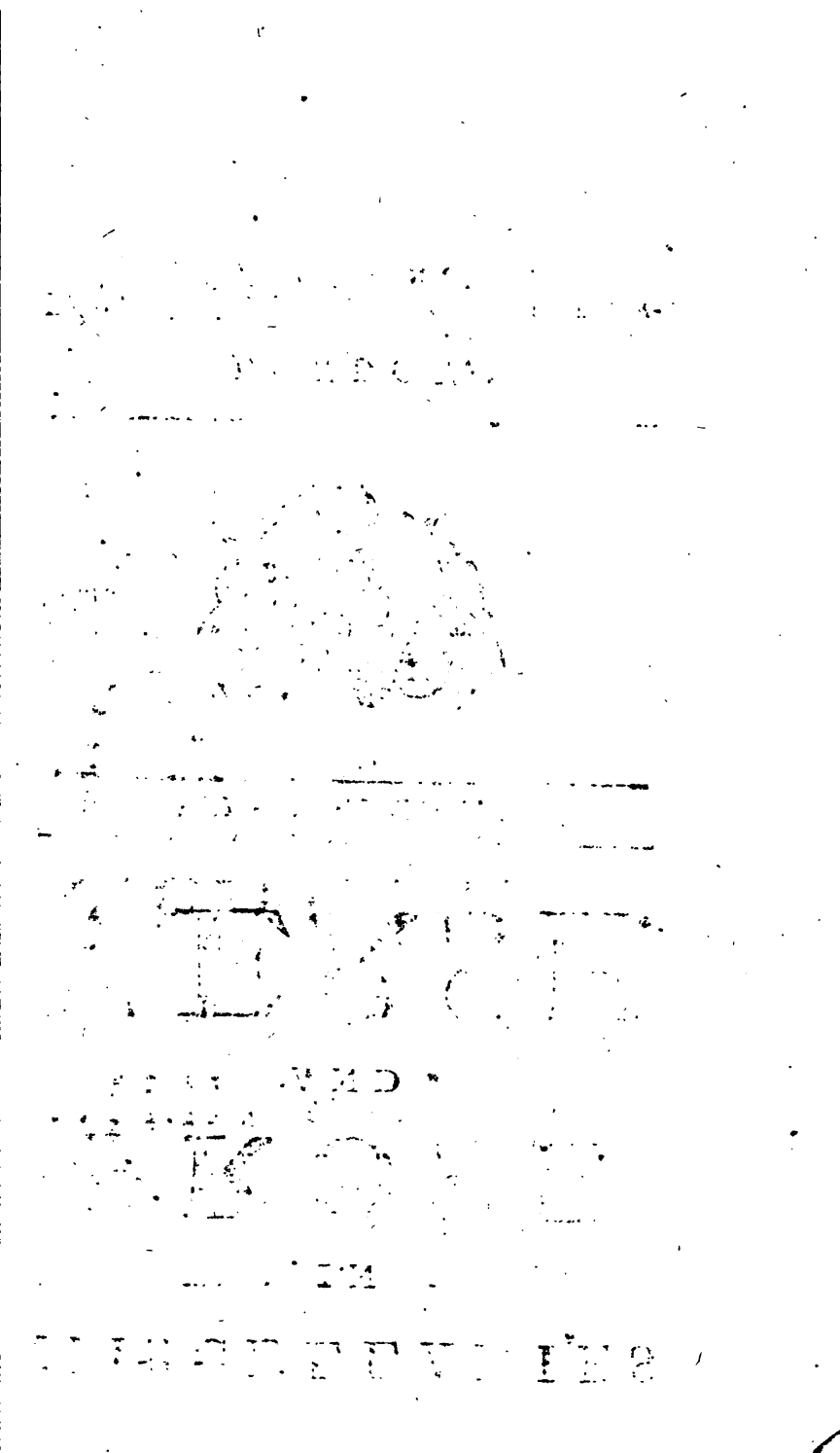

# THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

TO Publiſh the Writings of Perſons without their Conſent, is a Practice, generally ſpeaking, ſo unfair, and has ſo many times proved an unſufferable Injury to the Credit and Reputation of the Authors, as well as a ſhameful Impoſition on the Publick, either by a ſcandalous Inſertion of Spurious Pieces, or an Imperfect and Faulty Edition of ſuch as are Genuine; that though I have been Maſter of ſuch of the following Pieces as have never yet been Printed, for ſeveral Months, I could never, though much importuned, prevail on my ſelf

to Publiſh them, fearing even a Poſſibility of doing an Injury in either of thoſe two Reſpects to the Perſon who is generally known to be the Author of ſome; and, with greater Reaſon than I am at preſent at Liberty to give, ſuppoſed to be the Author of all the other Pieces which make up this Collection. But as my own Unwillingneſs to do any thing which might prove an Injury to the ſuppoſed Author's Reputation, to whom no Man pays a juſter Eſteem, or bears a greater Reſpect than my ſelf, has hitherto kept me from giving the World ſo agreeable an Entertainment as it will receive from the following Papers, ſo the Senſe I had that he would really now ſuffer a much greater in both Inſtances from other hands, was the Occaſion of my determining to do it at preſent; ſince ſome of the following Pieces have lately appeared in Print, from very imperfect and uncorrect Copies. Nor was the Abuſe like to ſtop here; for theſe, with all the Defects and Imperfections they came out under, met with ſo much Applauſe, and ſo univerſal a good Reception

ception from all Men of Wit and Taſte, as to prompt the *Bookſellers*, who had heard that other of theſe Tracts were in Manuſcript in ſome Gentlemens Hands, to ſeek by any means to procure them, which ſhould they compaſs, they would, without Queſtion, publiſh in a manner as little to the Author's Credit and Reputation, as they have already done thoſe few which unfortunately have fallen into their Poſſeſſion. This being a known Fact, I hope will be ſufficient to make this Publication, tho' without the Author's Conſent or Knowledge, very conſiſtent with that Reſpect I ſincerely bear him: Who, if it ſhould not appear to be perfectly without Fault, can with little Juſtice complain of the Wrong he receives by it, ſince it has prevented his ſuffering a much greater; no more than a Man who is puſhed down out of the way of a Bullet, can with Reaſon take as an Affront, either the Blow he falls by, or the Dirt he riſes with.

BUT indeed I have very little Uneaſineſs upon me for fear of any

Injury the Author's Credit and Reputation may receive from any Imperfection or Uncorrectneſs in theſe following Tracts, ſince the Perſons from whom I had them, and in whoſe Hands I have Reaſon to believe the Author left them, when his Affairs called him out of this Kingdom, are of ſo much Worth themſelves, and have ſo great a Regard for the Author, that I am confident they would neither do, nor ſuffer any thing that might turn to his Diſadvantage. I muſt confeſs I am upon another account under ſome Concern, which is, leſt ſome of the following Papers are ſuch as the Author perhaps would rather ſhould not have been Publiſhed at all; in which Caſe, I ſhould look upon my ſelf highly obliged to aſk his Pardon: But even on this Suppoſition, as there is no Perſon named, the ſuppoſed Author is at liberty to diſown as much as he thinks fit of what is here Publiſhed, and ſo can be chargeable with no more of it than he pleaſes to take upon himſelf.

FROM

# *To the* READER.

FROM this Apology I have been making, the Reader may in part be satisfied how these Papers came into my Hands; and to give him a more particular Information herein, will prove little to his Use, tho' perhaps it might somewhat gratify his Curiosity, which I shall think not material any farther to do, than by assuring him, that I am not only my self sufficiently convinced that all the Tracts in the following Collection, excepting Two, before both of which I have in the Book expressed my Doubtfulness, were wrote by the same Hand, but several Judicious Persons, who are well acquainted with the supposed Author's Writings, and not altogether Strangers to his Conversation, have agreed with me herein, not only for the Reasons I have before hinted at, but upon this Account also, that there are in every one of these Pieces some particular Beauties that discover this Author's Vein, who excels too much not to be distinguished, since in all his Writings such a surprizing Mixture of Wit and Learning, true Humour and

and good Sense, does every-where appear, as sets him almost as far out of the Reach of Imitation, as it does beyond the Power of Censure.

THE Reception that these Pieces will meet with from the Publick, and the Satisfaction they will give to all Men of Wit and Taste, will soon decide it, whether there be any Reason for the Reader to suspect an Imposition, or the Author to apprehend an Injury: The former, I am fully satisfied, will never be; and the latter, I am sure, I never intended. In confidence of which, should the Author, when he sees these Tracts appear, take some Offence, and know where to place his Resentment, I will be so free as to own, I could without much Uneasiness sit down under some degree of it, since it would be no hard Task to bear some Displeasure from a single Person, for that for which one is sure to receive the Thanks of every Body else.

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*——— Si tibi vera videtur*
*Dede manus; & si falsa est accingere contra.* Lucret.

Written in the Year, 1701.

## CHAP. I.

'TIS agreed that in all Government there is an absolute unlimited Power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed

in the whole Body, wherever the Executive Part of it lies. This holds in the Body natural; For wherever we place the beginning of Motion, whether from the Head, or the Heart, or the animal Spirits in general, the Body moves and acts by a Conſent of all its Parts. This unlimited Power placed fundamentally in the Body of a People, is what the Legiſlators of all Ages have endeavour'd, in their ſeveral Schemes or Inſtitutions of Government, to depoſit in ſuch Hands as would preſerve the People from Rapine and Oppreſſion within as well as Violence from without. Moſt of them ſeem to agree in this, that it was a Truſt too great to be committed to any one Man or Aſſembly, and therefore they left the Right ſtill in the whole Body, but the Adminiſtration or Executive Part, in the Hands of *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*, into which three Powers all independent Bodies of Men ſeem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of thoſe innumerable and petty Commonwealths in *Italy*, *Greece* and *Sicily*, as well as the great ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*; it ſeems to me, that

that a free People met together, whether by *Compact* or *Family Government*, as ſoon as they fall into any Acts of Civil Society, do of themſelves divide into three Powers. The firſt is that of ſome one eminent Spirit, who having ſignaliz'd his Valour and Fortune in Defence of his Country, or by the Practice of popular Arts at Home, becomes to have great Influence on the People, to grow their Leader in Warlike Expeditions, and to preſide, after a ſort, in their Civil Aſſemblies: And this is grounded upon the Principles of Nature and common Reaſon, which in all Difficulties or Dangers, where Prudence or Courage are required, do rather incite us to fly for Counſel or Aſſiſtance to a ſingle Perſon than a Multitude. The ſecond natural Diviſion of Power, is of ſuch Men who have acquired large Poſſeſſions, and conſequently Dependances, or deſcend from Anceſtors, who have left them great Inheritances, together with an Hereditary Authority. Theſe eaſily uniting in Thoughts and Opinions, and acting in Concert, begin to enter upon Meaſures for ſecuring their Pro-

perties, which are beſt upheld by preparing againſt Invaſions from abroad, and maintaining Peace at Home: This commences a great Council or Senate of Nobles for the weighty Affairs of the Nation. The laſt Diviſion is of the Maſs or Body of the People, whoſe Part of Power is great and undiſputable, when ever they can unite either collectively or by Deputation to exert it. Now the three Forms of Government ſo generally known in the Schools, differ only by the Civil Adminiſtration being placed in the Hands of One, or ſometimes Two (as in *Sparta*) who were call'd *Kings*, or in a Senate, who were call'd the *Nobles*, or in the People Collective or Repreſentative, who may be call'd the *Commons:* Each of theſe had frequently the Executive Power in *Greece*, and ſometimes in *Rome:* but the Power in the laſt Reſort was always meant by Legiſlators to be held in Balance among all three. And it will be an eternal Rule in Politicks among every free People, that there is a Balance of Power to be carefully held by every State

State within it ſelf, as well as among ſeveral States with each other.

THE true Meaning of a Balance of Power either without or within a State, is beſt conceived by conſidering what the Nature of a Balance is. It ſuppoſes three Things. Firſt, the Part which is held, together with the Hand that holds it; and then the two Scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now conſider ſeveral States in a Neighbourhood: In order to preſerve Peace between theſe States, it is neceſſary they ſhould be form'd into a Balance, whereof one or more are to be Directors, who are to divide the reſt into equal Scales, and upon Occaſions remove from one into the other, or elſe fall with their own Weight into the Lighteſt. So in a State within it ſelf, the Balance muſt be held by a third Hand; who is to deal the remaining Power with utmoſt Exactneſs into the ſeveral Scales. Now it is not neceſſary that the Power ſhould be equally divided between theſe three; For the Balance may be held by the weakeſt, who, by his Addreſs and Conduct,

removing from either Scale, and adding of his own, may keep the Scales duly pois'd. Such was that of the two Kings of *Sparta*, the Conſular Power in *Rome*; that of the Kings of *Media* before the Reign of *Cyrus*, as repreſented by *Xenophon*; and that of the ſeveral limited States in the *Gothick* Inſtitution.

WHEN the Balance is broke, whether by the Negligence, Folly, or Weakneſs of the Hand that held it, or by mighty Weights fallen into either Scale, the Power will never continue long in equal Diviſion between the two remaining Parties, but (till the Balance is fixed anew) will run entirely into one. This gives the trueſt Account of what is underſtood in the moſt ancient and approved *Greek* Authors by the Word *Tyranny*, which is not meant for the ſeizing of the uncontrouled or abſolute Power into the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, (as many ſuperficial Men have groſly miſtaken) but for the breaking of the Balance by whatever Hand, and leaving the Power wholly in one Scale. For *Tyranny* and *Uſurpa-*

*Uſurpation* in a State, are by no means confined to any Number, as might eaſily appear from Examples enough: and becauſe the Point is material, I ſhall cite a few to prove it.

THE *Romans* having ſent to *Athens*, and the *Greek* Cities of *Italy*, for the Copies of the beſt Laws, choſe Ten Legiſlators to put them into Form, and during the Exerciſe of their Office, ſuſpended the Conſular Power, leaving the Adminiſtration of Affairs in their Hands. Theſe very Men, though choſen for ſuch a Work, as the digeſting a Body of Laws for the Government of a free State, did immediately uſurp Arbitrary Power, ran into all the Forms of it, had their Guards and Spies, after the Practice of the Tyrants of thoſe Ages, affected Kingly State, deſtroy'd the Nobles, and oppreſt the People; One of them proceeding ſo far as to endeavour to force a Lady of great Virtue: The very Crime which gave Occaſion to the Expulſion of the Regal Power but ſixty Years before, as this Attempt did to that of the *Decemviri*. *Dionyſ. Hal. l.* 10.

THE *Ephori* in *Sparta* were at firſt only certain Perſons deputed by the King to judge in Civil Matters, while *They* were employ'd in the Wars. Theſe Men at ſeveral times, uſurp'd the abſolute Authority, and were as cruel Tyrants as any in their Ages.

*Thucid. lib. 8.* SOON after the unfortunate Expedition into *Sicily*, the *Athenians* choſe four hundred Men for Adminiſtration of Affairs, who became a Body of Tyrants, and were called in the Language of thoſe Ages, an *Oligarchy*, or Tyranny of the *Few*; under which hateful Denomination, they were ſoon after depoſed in great Rage by the People.

*Xenop. de Rebus Græc. l. 2.* WHEN *Athens* was ſubdued by *Liſander*, he appointed thirty Men for the Adminiſtration of that City, who immediately fell into the rankeſt Tyranny: But this was not all; For conceiving their Power not founded on a *Baſis* large enough, they admitted three thouſand into a Share of the Government; and thus fortified, became

came the cruelleſt Tyranny upon Record. They murder'd, in cold Blood, great numbers of the beſt Men, without any Provocation, from the meer Luſt of Cruelty, like *Nero* or *Caligula*. This was ſuch a Number of Tyrants together, as mounted to near a third part of the whole City. For *Xenophon* tells us, that the City contain'd about ten thouſand Houſes, and allowing one Man to every Houſe, who could have any Share in the Government (the reſt conſiſting of Women, Children, and Servants) and making other obvious Abatements, theſe Tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a Majority even of the People Collective.

*Memorab. Lib. 3.*

IN the time of the ſecond *Punick* War, the Balance of Power in *Carthage* was got on the ſide of the People, and that to a Degree, that ſome Authors reckon the Government to have been then among them a *Dominatio Plebis*, or *Tyranny of the Commons*, which it ſeems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at laſt among the Cauſes that ruin'd their State: And

*Polyb. Frag. l. 6*

And the frequent Murders of their Generals, which *Diodorus* tells us was grown to an eſtabliſh'd Cuſtom among them, may be another Inſtance that Tyranny is not confined to Numbers.

*Lib.* 20.

I ſhall mention but one Example more among a great Number that might be produced; It is related by the Author laſt cited, the Orators of the People at *Argos* (whether you will ſtile them in modern Phraſe, *Great Speakers in the Houſe*, or only in general, Repreſentatives of the People Collective) ſtirred up the Commons againſt the Nobles; of whom 1600 were Murdered at once, and at laſt, the Orators themſelves, becauſe they left off their Accuſations, or to ſpeak Intelligibly, becauſe they *withdrew their Impeachments*; having, it ſeems, raiſed a Spirit they were not able to lay. And this laſt Circumſtance, as Caſes have lately ſtood, may perhaps be worth noting.

*Lib.* 15.

FROM what hath been already advanced, ſeveral Concluſions may be drawn.

*Firſt,*

*First*, THAT a mixt Government partaking of the known Forms received in the Schools, is by no means of *Gothick* Invention, but hath place in Nature and Reason, seems very well to agree with the Sentiments of most Legislators, and to have been follow'd in most States, whether they have appear'd under the name of Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies. For not to mention the several Republicks of this Composition in *Gaul* and *Germany*, described by *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*; *Polybius* tells us, the best Government is that which consists of three Forms, *Regno, Optimatium, & Populi imperio.* Which may be fairly Translated, the *Kings*, *Lords* and *Commons*. Such was that of *Sparta* in its Primitive Institution by *Lycurgus*; who observing the Corruptions and Depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his Scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *Reges*, *Seniores*, & *Populus*: Such also was the State of *Rome*, under its Consuls; And the Author tells *Fragm. lib. 6.*

tells us, that the *Romans* fell upon this Model purely by chance, (which I take to have been Nature and common Reaſon) but the *Spartans* by Thought and Deſign. And ſuch at *Carthage* was the *ſumma Republicæ*, or Power in the laſt Reſort; For they had their Kings call'd *Suffetes*, and a Senate which had the Power of *Nobles*, and the *People* had a ſhare eſtabliſh'd too.

*Id. ib.*

*Secondly*, I T will follow, That thoſe Reaſoners who employ ſo much of their Zeal, their Wit and their Leiſure for the upholding the Balance of Power in Chriſtendom, at the ſame time that by their Practices they are endeavouring to deſtroy it at home, are not ſuch mighty Patriots, or ſo much in the true Intereſt of their Countrey, as they would affect to be thought, but ſeem to be employed like a Man who pulls down with his right Hand what he has been Building with his left.

*Thirdly*, THIS makes appear the Error of thoſe who think it an uncontroulable Maxim, that Power is always

always ſafer lodged in many Hands than in one. For if thoſe many Hands be made up only of one of the three Diviſions before mentioned, 'tis plain from thoſe Examples already produced, and eaſy to be parallel'd in other Ages and Countries, that they are as capable of *Enſlaving* the Nation, and of acting all Manner of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, as it is poſſible for a ſingle Perſon to be; tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe their Number to be not only of Four or Five Hundred, but above Three Thouſand.

AGAIN, it is manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that in order to preſerve the Balance in a mix'd State, the Limits of Power depoſited with each Party ought to be aſcertained, and generally known. The Defects of this is the Cauſe that introduces thoſe Strugglings in a State about *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, about Encroachments of the *Few*, upon the Rights of the *Many*, and of the *Many* upon the Privileges of the *Few*, which ever did and ever will conclude in a Tyranny; Firſt, either of the *Few*, or the *Many*, but at laſt infallibly of

of a ſingle Perſon. For, which ever of the three Diviſions in a State is upon the Scramble for more Power than its own (as one or other of them generally is) unleſs due care be taken by the other two; upon every new Queſtion that ariſes, they will be ſure to decide in Favour of themſelves, talk much of Inherent Right; they will nouriſh up a dormant Power, and reſerve the Privileges in *petto*, to exert upon Occaſions, to ſerve Expedients, and to urge upon Neceſſities. They will make large Demands, and ſcanty Conceſſions, ever coming off conſiderable Gainers: Thus at length the Balance is broke, and Tyranny let in, from which Door of the three it matters not.

TO pretend to a *declarative* Right upon any Occaſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make uſe of the whole Power: That is, to declare an Opinion to be Law, which has always been conteſted, or perhaps never ſtarted at all before ſuch an incident brought it on the Stage. Not to conſent to the Enacting of ſuch a Law, which has no

no View beſides the general Good, unleſs another Law ſhall at the ſame time paſs with no other View but that of advancing the Power of one Party alone; What is this but to claim a poſitive Voice as well as a negative? To pretend that great Changes and Alienations of Property have created new and great Dependences, and conſequently new Additions of Power, as ſome Reaſons have done, is a moſt dangerous Tenet: If Dominion muſt follow Property, let it follow in the ſame Pace: For Changes in Property thro' the Bulk of a Nation make ſlow Marches, and its due Power always attends it. To conclude that whatever Attempt is begun by an Aſſembly, ought to be purſued to the End, without Regard to the greateſt Incidents that may happen to alter the Caſe; To count it mean, and below the *Dignity of a Houſe*, to quit a Proſecution; To reſolve upon a Concluſion before it is poſſible to be appriſed of the Premiſſes; To act thus, I ſay, is to affect not only abſolute Power, but Infallibility too. Yet ſuch unaccountable Proceedings as theſe

have popular Aſſemblies engaged in, for Want of fixing the due Limits of *Power* and *Privilege*.

GREAT Changes may indeed be made in a Government, yet the Form continue, and the Balance be held; but large Intervals of Time muſt paſs between every ſuch Innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a Piece with the Conſtitution. Such we are told were the Proceedings of *Solon*, when he modelled anew the *Athenian* Commonwealth: And what Convulſions in our own, as well as other States, have been bred by a Neglect of this Rule, is freſh and notorious enough: 'Tis too ſoon in all Conſcience to repeat this Error again.

HAVING ſhewn that there is a natural Balance of Power in all free States, and how it has been divided ſometimes by the People themſelves, as in *Rome*, at others by the Inſtitutions of the Legiſlators, as in the ſeveral States of *Greece* and *Sicily*: The next thing is to examine what Methods have been taken to break or overthrow this Balance

Balance; which every of the three Parties have continually endeavour'd, as Opportunities have ſerv'd; as might appear from the Stories of moſt Ages and Countries. For, Abſolute Power in a particular State, is of the ſame Nature with univerſal Monarchy in ſeveral States adjoyning to each other. So endleſs and exorbitant are the deſires of Men, whether conſider'd in their Perſons or their States, that they will graſp at all, and can form no Scheme of perfect Happineſs with leſs. Ever ſince Men have been united into Governments, the Hopes and Endeavours after univerſal Monarchy have been bandied among them, from the Reign of *Ninus* to this of the *Moſt Chriſtian King*; in which Purſuits Commonwealths have had their Share as well as Monarchs: So the *Athenians*, the *Spartans*, the *Thebans* and the *Achaians*, did at ſeveral times aim at the univerſal Monarchy of *Greece*; So the Commonwealths of *Carthage* and *Rome* affected the univerſal Monarchy of the then known World. In like Manner has abſolute Power been purſued by the ſeveral Parties of each particular State;

wherein ſingle Perſons have met with moſt Succeſs, tho' the Endeavours of the *Few* and the *Many* have been frequent enough; But, being neither ſo uniform in their Deſigns, nor ſo direct in their Views, they neither could manage nor maintain the Power they had got; but were ever deceived by the Popularity and Ambition of ſome ſingle Perſon. So that it will be always a wrong Step in Policy, for the *Nobles* or *Commons* to carry their Endeavours after Power ſo far, as to overthrow the Balance: and it would be enough to damp their Warmth in ſuch Purſuits, if they could once reflect, that in ſuch a Courſe they will be ſure to run upon the very Rock they meant to avoid, which I ſuppoſe they would have us think is the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon.

MANY Examples might be produced of the Endeavours from each of theſe three Rivals, after abſolute Power; But I ſhall ſuit my Diſcourſe to the Time I am Writing it, and Relate only ſuch Diſſentions between the *Nobles* and *Commons*, with the Conſe-

stances of them, in *Greece* and *Rome*, wherein the latter were the Aggressors.

I shall begin with *Greece*, where my Observations shall be confin'd to *Athens*; tho' several Instances might be brought from other States thereof.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Dissentions in* Athens, *between the* Few *and the* Many.

THESEUS is the first who is Recorded with any Appearance of Truth to have brought the *Grecians* from a barbarous Manner of Life among scattered Villages, into Cities; and to have establish'd the *Popular State* in *Athens*, assigning to himself the Guardianship of the Laws, and chief Command in War. He was

forced after some Time to leave the *Athenians* to their own Measures, upon account of their seditious Temper, which ever continu'd with them till the final Dissolution of their Government by the *Romans*. It seems, the Country about *Attica* was the most Barren of any in *Greece*; through which means it happened that the Natives were never expelled by the Fury of Invaders, (who thought it not worth a Conquest,) but continued always *Aborigines*; and therefore retained through all Revolutions a Tincture of that turbulent Spirit wherewith their Government began. This Institution of *Theseus* appears to have been rather a sort of mixt Monarchy than a popular State, and for ought we know, might continue so during the Series of Kings till the Death of *Codrus*. From this last Prince, *Solon* was said to be descended; who finding the People engaged in two violent Factions, of the Poor and the Rich, and in great Confusions thereupon; refusing the Monarchy which was offered him, chose rather to cast the Government after another Model, wherein he made

due

due Provision for ſetting the Balance of Power, chuſing a Senate of 400, and diſpoſing the Magiſtracies and Offices according to Mens Eſtates; leaving to the Multitude their Votes in Electing, and the Power of judging certain Proceſſes by Appeal. This Council of 400 was choſen, 100 out of each Tribe, and ſeems to have been a Body Repreſentative of the People; tho' the People collective reſerved a ſhare of Power to themſelves. It is a Point of Hiſtory perplexed enough; but this much is certain, that the Balance of Power was provided for; elſe *Pyſiſtratus*, (called by Authors the Tyrant of *Athens*) could never have govern'd ſo peaceably as he did, † without changing any of *Solon*'s Laws. Theſe ſeveral Powers, together with that of the *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate, made up the Form of Government in *Athens*, at what time it began to appear upon the Scene of Action and Story.

† *Herodot. lib.* 1.

THE firſt great Man bred up under this Inſtitution was *Miltiades*, who lived about Ninety Years after *Solon*,

and is reckon'd to have been the last great Captain not only of *Athens*, but of all *Greece*. From the time of *Miltiades* to that of *Phocion*, who is look'd upon as the last famous General of *Athens*, are about 150 Years. After which they were subdued and insulted by *Alexander's* Captains, and continued under several Revolutions, a small truckling State of no Name or Reputation, till they fell with the rest of *Greece* under the Power of the *Romans*.

DURING this Period from *Miltiades* to *Phocion*, I shall trace the Conduct of the *Athenians*, with relation to their Dissentions between the People and some of their Generals; who at that time by their Power and Credit in the Army, in a Warlike Common-wealth, and often supported by each other, were with the Magistrates and other Civil Officers, a sort of Counterpoise to the Power of the People, who since the Death of *Solon* had already made great Encroachments. What these Dissentions were, how founded, and what the Consequences

of

of them, I shall briefly and impartially Relate.

I must here premise, that the *Nobles* in *Athens* being not at this time a Corporate Assembly that I can gather; therefore the Resentments of the Commons were usually turned against particular Persons, and by Way of Articles or Impeachment. Whereas, the Commons in *Rome*, and some other States, (as will appear in proper Place) tho' they followed this Method upon Occasion, yet generally pursued the Enlargement of their Power, by more set Quarrels of one entire Assembly against another. However, the Custom of particular Impeachments being not limited to former Ages, any more than that of general Struggles and Dissentions betwixt fix'd Assemblies of Nobles and Commons; And the Ruin of *Greece* having been owing to the former, as that of *Rome* was to the latter; I shall treat on both expressly; that those States who are concerned in either (if at least, there be any such now in the World) may, by observing the Means and the Issues of

former Dissentions, learn whether the Causes are alike in theirs, and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same Effects.

TO speak of every particular Person impeach'd by the Commons of *Athens*, within the Compass designed, would introduce the History of almost every great Man they had among them. I shall therefore take Notice only of Six, who living in that Period of Time when *Athens* was at the Height of its Glory (as indeed it could not be otherwise while such Hands were at the Helm) tho' *impeach'd for high Crimes and Misdemeanors*, such *as Bribery, Arbitrary Proceedings, misapplying or imbesling publick Funds, ill Conduct at Sea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their Country, as the Preservers of it, and have had the Veneration of all Ages since paid justly to their Memories.

*MILTIADES* was one of the *Athenian* Generals against the *Persian* Power, and the famous Victory at *Mara-*

*Miltiades* was chiefly owing to his Valour and Conduct. Being sent some time after to reduce the Island *Paros*, he mistook a great Fire at distance, for the *Fleet*, and being no ways a Match for them, set Sail for *Athens*; at his Arrival he was *impeach'd* by the Commons for Treachery, tho' not able to appear by reasons of his Wounds, fined 50000 Crowns, and died in Prison. Tho' the Consequences of this Proceeding upon the Affairs of *Athens*, were no otherwise than by the untimely Loss of so great and good a Man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

THEIR next great Man was *ARISTIDES*: Besides the mighty Service he had done his Country in the Wars; he was a Person of the strictest Justice, and best acquainted with the Laws as well as Forms of their Government, so that he was in a manner the Chancellor of *Athens*. This Man upon a slight and false Accusation of *favouring Arbitrary Power*, was banish'd by *Ostracism*; which rendred into modern *English*, would signify that they voted *he should be removed from their*

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*Presence and Counsels for ever.* But, however, they had the Wit to recall him, and to that Action owed the Preservation of their State by his future Services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the *Athenian* People, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the Heights of *modern Assemblies*, to make *Obstinacy* confirm what *sudden Heat* and *Temerity* began. They thought it not below the Dignity of an Assembly to endeavour at correcting an ill Step; at least to repent, tho' it often fell out too late.

*THEMISTOCLES* was at first a *Commoner* himself. It was he that raised the *Athenians* to their Greatness at Sea, which he thought to be the true and constant Interest of that Commonwealth; and the famous Naval Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis* was owing to his Conduct. It seems the People observed somewhat of Haughtiness in his Temper and Behaviour; and therefore banish him for five Years; but finding some slight matter of Accusation against him,

they

they sent to seize his Person, and he hardly escaped to the *Persian* Court; from whence if the love of his Country had not supplanted its base Ingratitude to him, he had many Invitations to return at the Head of the *Persian* Fleet, and take a terrible Revenge; But he rather chose a voluntary Death.

THE People of *Athens* Impeached *PERICLES* for *Misapplying the Publick Revenues to his own Private Use.* He had been a Person of great Deservings from the Republick, was an *admirable Speaker*, and very Popular, *His Accounts were confused, and he could not therefore give them up*; therefore meerly to divert that Difficulty, and the Consequences of it, he was forced to engage his Country in the *Peloponnesian* War, the longest that ever was known in *Greece*, and which ended in the utter Ruin of *Athens*.

THE same People having resolved to subdue *Sicily*, sent a mighty Fleet under the command of *Nicias*, *Lamachus*, and *ALCIBIADES*: the two former, Persons of Age and Experience; the last

laſt a young Man of noble Birth, excellent Education, and a plentiful Fortune. A little before the Fleet ſet Sail, it ſeems, one Night, the Stone Images of *Mercury*, placed in ſeveral parts of the City, were all pared in the Face: This Action the *Athenians* interpreted for a Deſign of deſtroying the Popular State; And *Alcibiades* having been formerly noted for the like Frolicks and Excurſions, was immediately accuſed of this. He, whether Conſcious of his Innocence, or aſſured of the Secrecy, offered to come to his Tryal before he went to his Command; this the *Athenians* refuſed; but as ſoon as he was got to *Sicily*, they ſent for him back, deſigning to take the Advantage, and Proſecute him in the Abſence of his Friends, and of the Army, where he was very powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the Reſentments of a Popular Aſſembly too well to truſt them; and therefore inſtead of returning, eſcaped to *Sparta*; where his deſires of Revenge prevailing over his Love to his Country, he became its greateſt Enemy. Mean while, the *Athenians* before *Sicily*, by the Death

of

of one Commander, and the Superſtition, Weakneſs, and perfect ill Conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroyed, the whole Fleet taken, a miſerable Slaughter made of the Army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, *Alcibiades* was recalled upon his own Conditions, by the Neceſſities of the People; and made chief Commander at Sea and Land; but his Lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive Orders, and being beaten by *Lyſander*; *Alcibiades* was again diſgraced and baniſhed. However, the *Athenians* having loſt all Strength and Heart ſince their Misfortune at *Sicily*, and now deprived of the only Perſon that was able to recover their Loſſes, repent of their Raſhneſs and endeavour in vain for his Reſtoration; the *Perſian* Lieutenant, to whoſe Protection he fled, making Him a Sacrifice to the Reſentments of *Lyſander* the General of the *Lacedemonians*, who now reduces all the Dominions of the *Athenians*, takes the City, races their Walls, ruins their Works, and changes the Form of their Government; which though again reſtored

ſtored for ſome time by *Thraſybulus* (as their Walls were rebuilt by *Conon*) yet here we muſt date the Fall of the *Athenian* Greatneſs; the Dominion and chief Power in *Greece*, from that Period, to the time of *Alexander* the Great, which was about fifty Years, being divided between the *Spartans* and *Thebans*. Though *Philip*, *Alexander*'s Father (*the moſt Chriſtian King* of that Age) had indeed ſome time before begun to break in upon the Republicks of *Greece*, by Conqueſt or *Bribery*; particularly *dealing large Money among ſome Popular Orators*, by which he brought many of them, (as the term of Art was then) to *Philippize*.

IN the time of *Alexander* and his Captains, the *Athenians* were offered an Opportunity of preſerving their Liberty, and being reſtored to their former State; but the wiſe Turn they thought to give the Matter, was by an Impeachment and Sacrifice of the Author, to hinder the Succeſs. For, after the Deſtruction of *Thebes* by *Alexander*; this Prince deſigning the Conqueſt

quest of *Athens*; was prevented by *PHOCION* the *Athenian* General, then Ambassador from that State; who by his great Wisdom and Skill at Negotiations, diverted *Alexander* from his Design, and restored the *Athenians* to his Favour. The very same Success he had with *Antipater* after *Alexander's* Death, at which time the Government was new regulated by *Solon's* Laws: But *Polyperchon*, in hatred to *Phocion*, having by Order of the young King (whose Governour he was) restored those whom *Phocion* had banished; the Plot succeeded, *Phocion* was accused by Popular Orators, and put to Death.

THUS was the most powerful Commonwealth of all *Greece*, after great degeneracies from the Institution of *Solon*, utterly destroy'd by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the People, which was never satisfied to see a General either *Victorious* no *Unfortunate*; such ill Judges, as well as Rewarders, have *Popular Assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

NOW

NOW the Circumſtance which makes theſe Examples of more Importance, is, that this very Power of the People in *Athens*, claimed ſo confidently for an *inherent Right*, and inſiſted on as the *undoubted Privilege of an* Athenian *born*, was the rankeſt Encroachment imaginable, and the groſſeſt Degeneracy from the Form that *Solon* left them. In ſhort, their Government was grown into a *Dominatio plebis*, or *Tyranny of the People*, who by degrees had broke and overthrew the Ballance which that Legiſlator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already ſaid of that Law-giver; but more manifeſtly from a Paſſage in *Diodorus*; who tells us, *That* Antipater *one of* Alexander's *Captains, abrogated the Popular Government* (*in* Athens) *and reſtored the power of Suffrages and Magiſtracy, to ſuch only as were worth two thouſand Drachmas; by which means,* (*ſays he*) *that Republick came to be* [*again*] *adminiſtred by the Laws of* Solon. By this Quotation, 'tis manifeſt, that great Author look'd upon

Lib. 18.

*Solon's*

*Solon*'s Inſtitution, and a Popular Government to be two different Things. And as for this Reſtoration by *Antipater*, it had neither Conſequence nor Continuance worth obſerving.

I might eaſily produce many more Examples, but theſe are ſufficient: And it may be worth the Readers time to reflect a little upon the Merits of the Cauſe, as well as of the Men who had been thus dealt with by their Country. I ſhall direct him no further than by repeating, that *Ariſtides* was the moſt renowned by the People themſelves for his exact *Juſtice and Knowledge in the Law*. That *Themiſtocles* was a moſt fortunate Admiral, and had got *a mighty Victory over the great King of* Perſia's *Fleet*; That *Pericles* was an *able Miniſter of State, an excellent Orator, and a Man of Letters*; And laſtly, that *Phocion*, beſides the Succeſs of his Arms, was alſo renowned for his *Negotiations abroad, having in an Embaſſy brought the greateſt Monarch of the World at that time, to the Terms of an honourable Peace, by which his Country was preſerved.*

I ſhall conclude my Remarks upon *Athens*, with the Character given us of that People by *Polybius*. *About this time* (*ſays he*) *the* Athenians *were Governed by two Men, quite ſunk in their Affairs; had little or no Commerce with the reſt of* Greece, *and were become great Reverencers of crown'd Heads.*

FOR from the time of *Alexander's* Captains, till *Greece* was ſubdued by the *Romans* (to the latter part of which this Deſcription of *Polybius* falls in) *Athens* never produced one famous Man either for Councils or Arms, or hardly for Learning. And indeed it was a dark inſipid Period through all *Greece*: for except the *Achaian* League
*Polyb.* under *Aratus* and *Philopæmen*, and the Endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to reſtore the State of *Sparta*, ſo frequently haraſſed by Tyrannies occaſioned by the popular Practices of the *Ephori*, there was very little worth Recording. All which Conſequences may perhaps be juſtly imputed to this Degeneracy of *Athens*.

CHAP.

# CHAP. III.

## *Of the Diſſentions between the Patricians and Plebeians in* Rome, *with the Conſequences they had upon that State.*

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter confined my ſelf to the Proceedings of the Commons only by the Method of *Impeachments* againſt particular Perſons, with the fatal Effects they had upon the State of *Athens*; I ſhall now treat of the Diſſentions at *Rome* between the People and the Collective Body of the *Patricians* or *Nobles*. It is a large Subject, but I ſhall draw it into as narrow a Compaſs as I can.

AS *Greece* from the moſt antient Accounts we have of it, was divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, ſo was moſt part of *Italy* into ſeveral petty Commonwealths. And as thoſe Kings in *Greece* are ſaid to have been depoſed by their People upon the Score of their Arbitrary Proceedings; ſo on the contrary, the Commonwealths of *Italy* were all ſwallowed up, and concluded in the Tyranny of the *Roman* Emperors. However the Differences between thoſe *Grecian* Monarchies, and *Italian* Republicks, were not very great: For, by the Accounts *Homer* gives us of thoſe *Grecian* Princes who came to the Siege of *Troy*, as well as by ſeveral Paſſages in the *Odyſſes*; it is manifeſt, that the Power of theſe Princes in their ſeveral States, was much of a Size with that of the Kings in *Sparta*, the Archon at *Athens*, the Suffetes at *Carthage*, and the Conſuls in *Rome*: So that a limited and divided Power ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and inherent Principles of both thoſe People in Matters of Government. And ſuch did that of *Rome* continue

*Dionyſ. Halica.*

continue from the time of *Romulus*, tho' with ſome Interruptions, to *Julius Cæſar*, when it ended in the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon. During which Period, (not many Years longer than from the *Norman* Conqueſt to our Age) the Commons were growing by Degrees into Power and Property, gaining Ground upon the Patricians as it were Inch by Inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the Balance, leaving all Doors open to the Practices of popular and ambitious Men, who deſtroyed the Wiſeſt Republick, and enſlaved the Nobleſt People that ever entred upon the Stage of the World. By what Steps and Degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the Subject of my preſent Enquiry.

WHILE *Rome* was governed by Kings, the Monarchy was altogether Elective. *Romulus* himſelf, when he had built the City, was declared King by the univerſal Conſent of the People, and by Augury which was then underſtood for *Divine Appointment*. Among other Diviſions he made of the People, one was into *Patricians*

and *Plebeians*: The former were like the Barons of *England* ſome time after the Conqueſt; and the latter are alſo deſcribed to be almoſt exactly what our Commons were then. For, they were Dependants upon the Patricians, whom they choſe for their Patrons and Protectors, to anſwer for their Appearance, and defend them in any Proceſs: They alſo ſupplied their Patrons with Money in Exchange for their Protection. This Cuſtom of *Patronage*, it ſeems, was very antient, and long practiſed among the *Greeks*.

OUT of theſe Patricians, *Romulus* choſe an hundred to be a *Senate* or *Grand Council*, for Advice and Aſſiſtance to him in the Adminiſtration. The Senate therefore, originally conſiſted all of *Nobles*, and were of themſelves a *Standing Council*, the *People* being only convoked upon ſuch Occaſions as by this Inſtitution of *Romulus* fell into their Cognizance: Thoſe were to conſtitute Magiſtrates, to give their Votes for making Laws, and to adviſe upon entring on a War. But the two former of theſe popular

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Privileges were to be confirm'd by Authority of the Senate; and the laſt was only permitted at the King's Pleaſure. This was the utmoſt Extent of Power pretended by the *Commons* in the time of *Romulus*; all the reſt being divided between the King and the Senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the Conſtitution of *England* for ſome Centuries after the Conqueſt.

AFTER a Year's *interregnum* from the Death of *Romulus*, the Senate of their own Authority choſe a Succeſſor, and a Stranger, meerly upon the Fame of his Virtue, without asking the Conſent of the Commons; which Cuſtom they likewiſe obſerved in the two following Kings. But in the Election of *Tarquinius Priſcus* the fifth King, we firſt hear mentioned that it was done, *Populi impetratâ venia*, which indeed was but very reaſonable for a free People to expect; tho' I cannot remember in my little reading, by what Incidents they were brought to advance ſo great a Step. However it were, this Prince in Gratitude to the

People by whoſe Conſent he was choſen, elected a hundred Senators out of the Commons, whoſe Number with former Additions was now amounted to three hundred.

THE People having once diſcovered their own Strength, did ſoon take occaſion to exert it, and that by very great Degrees. For at this King's Death (who was murder'd by the Sons of a former) being at a loſs for a Succeſſor, *Servius Tullius*, a Stranger, and of mean Extraction, was choſen Protector of the Kingdom, by the *People*, without the conſent of the Senate; at which the Nobles being diſpleaſed, he wholly applyed himſelf, to gratify the Commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

THIS Prince firſt introduced the Cuſtom of giving freedom to Servants, ſo as to become Citizens of equal Privileges with the reſt, which very much contributed to increaſe the Power of the *People*.

THUS

THUS in a very few Years the Commons proceeded ſo far as to wreſt even the Power of chuſing a King, entirely out of the Hands of the Nobles: which was ſo great a Leap, and cauſed ſuch a Convulſion and Struggle in the State, that the Conſtitution could not bear it; but Civil Diſſentions aroſe, which immediately were followed by the Tyranny of a ſingle Perſon, as this was by the utter Subverſion of the Regal Government, and by a Settlement upon a new Foundation. For the Nobles ſpighted at this Indignity done them by the Commons, firmly united in a Body, depoſed this Prince by plain force, and choſe *Tarquin the Proud*, who running into all the Forms and Methods of Tyranny, after a cruel Reign was expelled by an univerſal Concurrence of Nobles and People, whom the Miſeries of his Reign had reconciled.

WHEN the Conſular Government began, the Balance of Power between the Nobles and Plebeians was fixed anew. The two firſt Conſuls were nomi-

nominated by the Nobles, and confirmed by the Commons; and a Law was enacted that no Perſon ſhould bear any Magiſtracy in *Rome*, *injuſſu Populi*; that is, without *Conſent of the Commons*.

IN ſuch turbulent Times as theſe, many of the poorer Citizens had contracted numerous Debts, either to the richer ſort among themſelves, or to Senators and other Nobles: and the Caſe of Debtors in *Rome*, for the firſt four * Centuries, was, after the ſet time for Payment, no Choice but either to pay or be the Creditor's Slave. In this Juncture the Commons quit the City in Mutiny and Diſcontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their Debts; and moreover that certain Magiſtrates be choſen yearly, whoſe Buſineſs it ſhall be to defend the Commons from Injuries. Theſe are called *Tribunes of the People*, their Perſons are held Sacred and Inviolable, and the People bind themſelves by Oath never to abrogate the Office. By theſe Tribunes in proceſs of time, the People

* *Ab Urbe conditâ.*

were grosly imposed on, to serve the Turns and Occasions of revengeful or ambitious Men, and to commit such Exorbitances as could not end, but in the Dissolution of the Government.

THESE Tribunes a Year or two after their Institution kindled great Dissention between the Nobles and the Commons, on the account of *Coriolanus*, a Nobleman, whom the latter had *Impeached*, and the Consequences of whose Impeachment (if I had not confined my self to *Grecian* Examples for that part of my Subject) had like to have been so fatal to their State. And from this time the Tribunes began a Custom of accusing to the People whatever Noble they pleas'd, several of whom were Banish'd or put to Death in every Age.

AT this time the *Romans* were very much engaged in Wars with their Neighbouring States; but upon the least Intervals of Peace, the Quarrels between the Nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent Subjects of their Differences was.

was the *Conquered Lands*, which the Commons would fain have divided among the Publick; but the Senate could not be brought to give their Conſent. For ſeveral of the wiſeſt among the Nobles began to apprehend the growing Power of the People; and therefore knowing what an Acceſſion thereof would accrue to them, by ſuch an Addition of Property, uſed all means to prevent it: For this the *Appian* Family was moſt noted, and thereupon moſt hated by the Commons. One of them having made a Speech againſt this Diviſion of Lands, was Impeach'd by the People of High Treaſon, and a Day appointed for his Tryal; but diſdaining to make his Defence, choſe rather the uſual *Roman* Remedy of killing himſelf: After whoſe Death the Commons prevailed, and the Lands were divided among them.

THIS point was no ſooner gained but new Diſſentions began: For the Plebeians would fain have a Law Enacted to lay all Mens Rights and Privileges upon the ſame level; and to enlarge

enlarge the Power of every Magiſtrate within his own Juriſdiction, as much as that of the Conſuls. The Tribunes alſo obtained to have their Number doubled, which before was Five, and the Author tells us, that their Inſolence, and Power increaſed with their Number, and the Seditions were alſo doubled with it. *Dionyſ. Halica.*

BY the beginning of the Fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, the Tribunes proceeded ſo far in the name of the Commons, as to accuſe and fine the Conſuls themſelves, who repreſented the Kingly Power. And the Senate obſerving, how in all Contentions they were forc'd to yield to the Tribunes and People, thought it their wiſeſt courſe to give way alſo to Time: Therefore a Decree was made to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, and to the other *Grecian* Commonwealths planted in that part of *Italy*, call'd *Græcia Major*, to make a Collection of the beſt Laws; out of which and ſome of their own a new complete Body of Law was formed, afterwards known

known by the name of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables.*

TO digeſt theſe Laws into Order, Ten Men were Choſen, and the Adminiſtration of all Affairs left in their Hands; what uſe they made of it has been already ſhewn. It was certainly a great Revolution, produced entirely by the many unjuſt Encroachments of the People; and might have wholly changed the Fate of *Rome*, if the Folly and Vice of thoſe who were chiefly concern'd, could have ſuffered it to take Root.

A few Years after, the Commons made further Advances on the Power of the Nobles; demanding among the reſt, that the Conſulſhip, which hitherto had only been diſpoſed to the former, ſhould now lie in common to the Pretenſions of any *Roman* whatſoever. This, tho' it fail'd at preſent, yet afterward obtain'd, and was a mighty Step to the Ruin of the Commonwealth.

WHAT

WHAT I have hitherto ſaid of *Rome* has been chiefly Collected out of that exact and Diligent Writer *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*; whoſe Hiſtory (thro' the injury of time) reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth Century after the Building of *Rome*. The reſt I ſhall ſupply from other Authors; tho' I do not think it neceſſary to deduce this Matter any further, ſo very particularly as I have hitherto done.

TO point at what Time the Balance of Power was moſt equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in *Rome*, would perhaps admit a Controverſie. *Polybius* tells us, that in the ſecond *Punick* War, the *Carthaginians* were declining, becauſe the Balance was got too much on the ſide of the People; whereas the *Romans* were in their greateſt Vigour, by the Power remaining in the Senate; yet this was between Two and Three Hundred Years after the Period *Dionyſius* ends with; in which time the Commons had made ſeveral further Acquiſitions. This however

*Fragm. lib. 6.*

however muſt be granted, that ('till about the middle of the fourth Century) when the Senate appeared reſolute at any time upon exerting their Authority, and adhered cloſely together, they did often carry their point. Beſides, it is obſerved by the beſt Authors, that in all the Quarrels and Tumults at *Rome*, from the expulſion of the Kings; tho' the People frequently proceeded to rude contumelious Language, and ſometimes ſo far as to pull and hale one another about the *Forum*; yet no Blood was ever drawn in any popular Commotions, till the time of the *Gracchi*. However, I am of Opinion, that the Balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular ſide; But this default was corrected, partly by the Principle juſt mentioned, of never drawing Blood in a Tumult; partly by the Warlike Genius of the People, which in thoſe Ages was almoſt perpetually employ'd: and partly by their great Commanders, who by the Credit they had in their Armies, fell into the Scales as a further counterpoiſe to the growing Power of the People. Beſides, *Polibius*, who liv'd

*Dionyſ. Hal. Plutarch*, &c.

in

in the time of *Scipio Africanus* the younger, had the ſame apprehenſions of the continual Encroachments made by the Commons; and being a Perſon of as great Abilities, and as much Sagacity as any of his Age; from obſerving the Corruptions which he ſays had already entered into the *Roman* Conſtitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the Iſſue of them. His Words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpoſe. *That theſe Abuſes and Corruptions which in time deſtroy a Government, are ſown along with the very Seeds of it, and both grow up together. And that as Ruſt eats away Iron, and Worms devour Wood, and both are a ſort of Plagues born and bred along with the ſubſtance they deſtroy; ſo with every Form and Scheme of Government that Man can invent, ſome Vice or Corruptions creep in with the very Inſtitution, which grows up along with, and at laſt deſtroys it.* The ſame Author in another Place, ventures ſo far as to gueſs at the Particular Fate which would attend the *Roman* Government. He ſays, its Ruin would ariſe from the po-

*Lib. 3.*

*Fragm. lib. 6.*

pular Tumults which would introduce a *Dominatio Plebis*, or Tyranny of the People; wherein 'tis certain he had reaſon; and therefore might have adventured to purſue his conjectures ſo far, as to the Conſequences of a Popular Tyranny, which as perpetual Experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the Arbitrary Government of a ſingle Perſon.

ABOUT the middle of the Fourth Century from the Building of *Rome*, it was declared lawful for *Nobles* and *Plebeians* to intermarry; which Cuſtom, among many other States, has proved the moſt effectual means to ruin the former, and raiſe the latter.

AND now the greateſt Employments in the State were one after another, by Laws forceably Enacted by the *Commons*, made free to the People; the *Conſulſhip* it ſelf, the Office of *Cenſor*, that of the *Queſtors*, or *Commiſſioners of the Treaſury*, the Office of *Prætor*, or Chief Juſtice, the *Prieſthood*, and even that of *Dictator*. The Senate after

after long Oppoſition, yielding meerly for preſent quiet to the continual urging Clamours of the *Commons*, and of the *Tribunes* their Advocates. A Law was likewiſe Enacted, that the *Plebiſcita*, or *A vote of the Houſe of Commons*, ſhould be of univerſal Obligation; nay in time the method of Enacting Laws was wholly inverted: For whereas the Senate uſed of old to confirm the *Plebiſcita*; the People did at laſt as they pleaſed, confirm or diſannul the *Senatuſconſulta*. *Dionyſ. lib. 2.*

*APPIUS CLAUDIUS* brought in a Cuſtom of admitting to the Senate the Sons of Freed Men, or of ſuch who had once been Slaves; by which and ſucceeding alterations of the like nature, that great Council degenerated into a moſt corrupt and factious Body of Men, divided againſt it ſelf; and its Authority became deſpis'd.

THE Century and half following, to the end of the third *Punick* War by the deſtruction of *Carthage*, was a very buſie Period at *Rome*: The Intervals

between every War being ſo ſhort, that the *Tribunes* and *People* had hardly Leiſure or Breath to engage in Domeſtick Diſſentions; However, the little time they could ſpare, was generally employ'd the ſame way. So *Terentius Leo*, a *Tribune*, is recorded to have baſely proſtituted the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, in perfect ſpight to the *Nobles*. So the great *African Scipio* and his Brother, after all their mighty Services, were Impeached by an ungrateful *Commons*.

HOWEVER, the Warlike Genius of the People, and continual Employment they had for it, ſerved to divert this Humour from running into a Head, till the Age of the *Gracchi*.

THESE Perſons entring the Scene in the time of a full Peace, fell violently upon advancing the Power of the People, by reducing into practice all thoſe Encroachments which they had been ſo many years a gaining. There were at that time certain *Conquered Lands*, to be divided, beſide a

*great private Eſtate left by a King.* Theſe the Tribunes, by procurement of the elder *Gracchus*, declared by their Legiſlative Authority, were not to be diſpoſed of by the *Nobles*, but by the *Commons* only. The younger Brother purſued the ſame Deſign; and beſides, obtained a Law, that all *Italians* ſhould vote at Elections, as well as the Citizens of *Rome*: In ſhort, the whole Endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *Nobles* Authority in all things, but eſpecially in the matter of *Judicature*. And tho' they both loſt their Lives in thoſe purſuits, yet they traced out ſuch ways as were afterwards followed by *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, to the Ruin of the *Roman* freedom and greatneſs.

FOR, in the time of *Marius*, *Saturnius* a Tribune procur'd a Law that the Senate ſhould be bound by Oath to agree to whatever the People would Enact: And *Marius* himſelf, while he was in that Office of Tribune, is recorded to have with great Induſtry uſed all endeavours for depreſſing the

*Nobles* and raiſing the People; particularly for cramping the former in their *Power of Judicature*, which was *their moſt ancient inherent Right.*

*SYLLA*, by the ſame meaſures became perfect Tyrant of *Rome*; He added Three Hundred Commons to the Senate, which perplexed the Power of the whole Order, and rendred it ineffectual; then flinging off the Mask, he aboliſhed the Office of Tribune, as being only a Scaffold to Tyranny, whereof he had no further uſe.

AS to *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Plutarch* tells us, that their union for pulling down the *Nobles*, (by their credit with the People) was the cauſe of the Civil War, which ended in the Tyranny of the latter; both of them in their Conſulſhips having uſed all endeavours and occaſions for ſinking the Authority of the *Patricians*, and giving way to all Encroachments of the People, wherein they expected beſt to find their own Account.

FROM

FROM this deduction of popular Encroachments in *Rome*, the Reader will eaſily judge how much the Balance was fallen upon that ſide. Indeed by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impoſſibility that the Republick could ſubſiſt any longer. For the Commons having uſurp'd the Office of the State, and trampled on the Senate, there was no Government left but a *dominatio Plebis*; Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an univerſal Truth, that the People are much more dextrous at pulling down and ſetting up, than at preſerving what is fixt; And they are not fonder of ſeizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worſt Bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For altho' in their corrupt Notions of Divine Worſhip, they are apt to multiply their Gods; yet their Earthly Devotion is ſeldom paid to above one Idol at a time, of their own Creation; whoſe *Oar* they pull with leſs mur-

muring and much more Skill than when they *ſhare the Lading*, or even *hold the Helm*.

THE ſeveral Provinces of the *Roman* Empire were now Govern'd by the great Men of their State; thoſe upon the Frontiers with powerful Armies, either for Conqueſt or Defence. Theſe Governors upon any deſigns of Revenge or Ambition were ſure to meet with a divided Power at home, and therefore bent all their Thoughts and Applications to cloſe in with the People, who were now by many degrees the ſtronger Party. Two of the greateſt Spirits that *Rome* ever produced, happen'd to live at the ſame time, and to be engaged in the ſame Purſuit; and this at a juncture the moſt dangerous for ſuch a Conteſt. Theſe were *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, two Stars of ſuch a Magnitude, that their *Conjunction* was as likely to be Fatal as their *Oppoſition*.

THE *Tribunes* and People having now Subdued all Competitors, began the laſt game of a prevalent Populace, which

which is that of chuſing themſelves a *Maſter*; while the Nobles foreſaw, and uſed all endeavours left them, to prevent it. The People at firſt made *Pompey* their Admiral with full power over all the *Mediterranean*; ſoon after Captain-General of all the *Roman* Forces, and Governor of *Aſia*. *Pompey* on the other ſide reſtored the Office of *Tribune*, which *Sylla* had put down; and in his Conſulſhip procur'd a Law for *examining into the Miſcarriages of Men in Office or Command for Twenty Years paſt*. Many other Examples of *Pompey*'s Popularity are left us on Record, who was a perfect Favourite of the People, and deſign'd to be more; but his pretenſions grew ſtale, for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the Stage. For *Cæſar*, with his Legions in *Gaul*, was a perpetual Check upon his Deſigns; and in the Arts of pleaſing the People, did ſoon after get many Lengths beyond him. For he tells us himſelf that the Senate by a bold effort having made ſome ſevere Decrees againſt his Proceedings, and againſt the Tribunes; theſe all left the City and went over

to

to his Party, and conſequently along with them, the Affections and Intereſts of the People; which is further manifeſt from the Accounts he gives us of the Citizens in ſeveral Towns, mutinying againſt their Commanders, and delivering both to his Devotion. Beſides, *Cæſar*'s publick and avowed Pretenſions for beginning the Civil-War, were to reſtore the Tribunes and the People, oppreſt (as he pretended) by the *Nobles*.

THIS forced *Pompey* againſt his Inclinations, upon the Neceſſity of changing ſides, for fear of being forſaken by both; and of cloſing in with the Senate and chief Magiſtrates, by whom he was choſen General againſt *Cæſar*.

THUS at length the *Senate* (at leaſt the Primitive part of them, the Nobles) under *Pompey*, and the *Commons* under *Cæſar*, came to a final Deciſion of the long Quarrels between them. For, I think, the Ambition of private Men, did by no means begin or occaſion this War; though Civil Diſſentions never fail of introducing and

and ſpiriting the Ambition of private Men; who thus became indeed the great Inſtruments for deciding of ſuch Quarrels, and at laſt are ſure to ſeize on the Prize. But no Man that ſees a Flock of Vultures hovering over two Armies ready to engage, can juſtly charge the Blood drawn in the Battel to them, though the Carcaſes fall to their ſhare. For while the Balance of Power is equally held, the Ambition of private Men, whether Orators or great Commanders, gives neither Danger nor Fear, nor can poſſibly enſlave their Country; but That once broken, the divided Parties are forced to unite each to its Head, under whoſe Conduct or Fortune one ſide is at firſt Victorious, and at laſt both are Slaves. And to put it paſt diſpute, that this entire Subverſion of the *Roman* Liberty and Conſtitution, was altogether owing to thoſe Meaſures which had broke the Balance between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, whereof the Ambition of particular Men was but an Effect and Conſequence; we need only conſider, that when the uncorrupted Part of the Senate, had by the Death of

*Cæſar*

*Cæſar*, made one great Effort to reſtore their former State and Liberty; the Succeſs did not anſwer their hopes, but that whole Aſſembly was ſo ſunk in its Authority, that thoſe Patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the Madneſs of the People; who by their own Diſpoſitions ſtirred up with the Harangues of their Orators, were now wholly bent upon Single and Deſpotick Slavery. Elſe, how could ſuch a Profligate as *Antony*, or a Boy of eighteen, like *Octavius*, ever dare to dream of giving the Law to ſuch an Empire and People? wherein the latter ſucceeded, and entailed the vileſt Tyranny that Heaven in its Anger ever inflicted on a Corrupt and Poiſon'd People. And this, with ſo little Appearance at *Cæſar*'s Death, that when *Cicero* wrote to *Brutus*, how he had prevailed by his Credit with *Octavius*, to promiſe him (*Brutus*) Pardon and Security for his Perſon; that Great *Roman* received the Notice with the utmoſt Indignity, and returned *Cicero* an Anſwer (yet upon Record) full of the higheſt Reſentment and Contempt for ſuch an Offer, and from ſuch a Hand.

HERE

HERE ended all Shew or Shadow of Liberty in *Rome*. Here was the Repoſitory of all the wiſe Contentions and Struggles for Power, between the Nobles and Commons, lapt up ſafely in the Boſom of a *Nero* and a *Caligula*, a *Tiberius* and a *Domitian*.

LET us now ſee from this Deduction of particular Impeachments, and general Diſſenſions in *Greece* and *Rome*, what Concluſions may naturally be formed for Inſtruction of any other State, that may haply upon many Points labour under the like Circumſtances.

CHAP.

# CHAP. IV.

UPON the Subject of *Impeachments* we may obſerve, that the Cuſtom of accuſing the *Nobles* to the *People*, either by themſelves or their Orators, (now ſtiled *An Impeachment in the Name of the Commons*) has been very antient both in *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as *Carthage*; and therefore may ſeem to be the inherent Right of a free People; nay perhaps it is really ſo; But then, it is to be conſidered, Firſt, that this Cuſtom was peculiar to Republicks, or ſuch States where the Adminiſtration was principally in the Hands of the Commons, and ever raged more or leſs according to their Encroachments upon abſolute Power; having been always look'd upon by the wiſeſt Men, and beſt Authors of thoſe times as an Effect of Licentiouſneſs, and not of Liberty; a Diſtinction which no Multitude either *Repreſented* or *Collective*, has been at any time very Nice in obſerving. However, perhaps this Cuſtom

Cuſtom in a Popular State, of Impeaching particular Men, may ſeem to be nothing elſe but the Peoples chuſing upon Occaſion, to exerciſe their own Juriſdiction in Perſon, as if a King of *England* ſhould ſit as Chief Juſtice in his Court of *King's Bench*, which they ſay, in former times, he ſometimes did. But in *Sparta*, which was called a kingly Government, though the People were perfectly free, yet becauſe the Adminiſtration was in the two Kings, and the *Ephori* (with the Aſſiſtance of the Senate) we read of no Impeachments by the People, nor was the Proceſs againſt great Men, either upon account of Ambition or ill Conduct, though it reacht ſometimes to Kings themſelves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect; but only paſt through thoſe Hands where the Adminiſtration lay. So likewiſe during the Regal Government in *Rome*, though it was inſtituted a mixt Monarchy, and the People made great Advances in Power; yet I do not remember to have read of one Impeachment from the Commons againſt a Patrician, till the Conſular State began, and the People had made

great Encroachments upon the Adminiſtration.

Another thing to be conſidered is, That, allowing this Right of Impeaching to be as inherent as they pleaſe: Yet, if the Commons have been perpetually miſtaken in the Merits of the Cauſes and the Perſons, as well as in the Conſequences of ſuch Impeachments upon the Peace of the State; one cannot conclude leſs, than that the Commons in *Greece* and *Rome*, (whatever they may be in other States) were by no means qualified either as Proſecutors or Judges in ſuch matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reſerved theſe Priveleges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging Occaſions, where the State is in apparent danger, the univerſal Body of the People in Clamours againſt the Adminiſtration, and no other Remedy in view. But for a few Popular Orators or Tribunes, upon the Score of *Perſonal Piques*; or *to employ the Pride they conceive in ſeeing themſelves at the Head of a Party*; Or *as a Method for Advancement*: Or, *moved*

*themſelves at the Head of a Party*; Or *as a Method for Advancement*: Or *moved by certain powerful Arguments that could make* Demoſthenes *Philippize*; For ſuch Men, I ſay, when the State would of it ſelf gladly be quiet, and has beſides Affairs of the laſt Importance upon the Anvil, to *Impeach* Miltiades *after a great Naval Victory for not purſuing the* Perſian *Fleet. To Impeach* Ariſtides, *the Perſon moſt verſed among them in the Knowledge and Practice of their Laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting in an Arbitrary way*; (*that is, as they expound it, not in Concert with the People*): *To Impeach* Pericles, *after all his Services, for a few Paultry Accounts*; *Or to Impeach* Phocion, *who had been guilty of no other Crime but negotiating a Treaty for the Peace and Security of his Country*? What could the Continuance of ſuch Proceedings end in, but the utter Diſcouragements of all virtuous Actions and Perſons, and conſequently in the Ruin of a State? Therefore the Hiſtorians of thoſe Ages ſeldom fail to ſet this Matter in all its Lights; leaving us the higheſt and moſt honou-

rable *Ideas* of thoſe Perſons, who ſuffered by the Perſecution of the People, together with the fatal Conſequences they had, and how the Perſecutors ſeldom failed to repent when it was too late.

THESE Impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the beſt Men both in *Greece* and *Rome*, are a Cloud of Witneſſes, and Examples enough to diſcourage Men of Virtue and Abilities from engaging in the Service of the Publick; and help on t' other ſide, to introduce the Ambitious, the Covetous, the Superficial, and the Ill-deſigning; who are as apt to be Bold, and Forward, and Meddling, as the former are to be Cautious, and Modeſt, and Reſerved. This was ſo well known in *Greece*, that an Eagerneſs after Employments in the State, was look'd upon by wiſe Men, as the worſt Title one could ſet up; and made *Plato*, ſay, *That if all Men were as good as they ought, the Quarrel in a Commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who* ſhould *be Miniſters of State, but who ſhould* not *be ſo.* And *Socrates*

is

is introduced by *Xenophon* severely chiding a Friend of his for not entring into the Publick Service, when he was every way qualified for it. Such a Backwardness there was at that time among good Men to engage with an usurping People, and a Set of *pragmatical ambitious Orators*. And *Diodorus* tells us, that when the *Petalism* was erected at *Syracuse*, in imitation of the *Ostracism* at *Athens*, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either Birth and Merit to recommend them, that whoever had either, withdrew for Fear, and would have no Concern in Publick Affairs. So that the People themselves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into Confusion.

*Lib. Memorab.*

*Lib.* 11.

THERE is one thing more to be observed, wherein all the Popular Impeachments in *Greece* and *Rome*, seem to have agreed; and that was, a Notion they had of being concerned in *Point of Honour* to condemn whatever Person they Impeached, however frivolous the Articles were upon which

they began, or however weak the Surmiſes whereon they were to proceed in their Proofs. For, to conceive, that the Body of the People could be miſtaken, was an Indignity not to be imagined, till the Conſequences had convinced them when it was paſt Remedy. And I look upon this as a Fate to which all Popular Accuſations are ſubject; though I ſhould think that the ſaying, *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, ought to be underſtood of the Univerſal Bent and Current of a People, not of the *bare Majority* of a few Repreſentatives; which is often procured by *little Arts*, and great Induſtry and Application, wherein thoſe who engage in the Purſuits of Malice and Revenge, are much more Sedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.

FROM what has been deduced of the *Diſſentions* in *Rome*, between the two Bodies of Patricians and Plebeians, ſeveral Reflections may be made.

*Firſt*, THAT when the Balance of Power is duly fixed in a State, nothing

nothing is more dangerous or unwise than to give way to the *first Steps* of Popular Encroachments; which is usually done either in hopes of procuring Ease and Quiet from some vexatious Clamour, or else *made Merchandise, and meerly Bought and Sold.* This is breaking into a Constitution to serve a present Expedient, or supply a present Exigency: The Remedy of an Empirick, to stifle the present Pain, but with certain Prospect of sudden and terrible Returns. When a Child grows easie and content by being humoured; and when a Lover becomes satisfied by small Compliances, without further Pursuits; then expect to find Popular Assemblies content with small Concessions. If there could one single Example be brought from the whole Compass of History, of any one Popular Assembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever sat down quietly with a certain Share: Or if one Instance could be produced of a Popular Assembly, that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of Power was their due; then might there be some hopes, that it were a

Matter to be adjuſted, by Reaſonings, by Conferences, or Debates; But ſince all that is manifeſtly otherwiſe, I ſee no Courſe to be taken in a ſettled State, but a ſteddy conſtant Reſolution in thoſe to whom the reſt of the Balance is entruſted, never to give way ſo far to Popular Clamours, as to make the leaſt Breach in the Conſtitution, through which a Million of Abuſes and Encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

AGAIN, from this Deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and aſſign certain Marks of Popular Encroachments; by obſerving of which, thoſe who hold the Balance in a State, may judge of the Degrees, and by early Remedies and Application, put a Stop to the fatal Conſequences that would otherwiſe enſue. What thoſe Marks are, has been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

ANOTHER Conſequence is this: That (with all Reſpect for popular Aſſemblies be it ſpoke) it is hard to recollect one Folly, Infirmity, or Vice,

to which a ſingle Man is ſubjected, and from which a Body of Commons either collective or repreſented can be wholly exempt. For, beſides that they are compoſed of Men with all their Infirmities about them; they have alſo the ill Fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worſt among themſelves, I mean, *Popular Orators*, *Tribunes*, or as they are now ſtiled, *Great Speakers*, *Leading Men*, and the like. From whence it comes to paſs, that in their Reſults we have ſometimes found the ſame Spirit of Cruelty and Revenge, of Malice and Pride; the ſame Blindneſs and Obſtinacy, and Unſteadineſs; the ſame ungovernable Rage and Anger; the ſame Injuſtice, Sophiſtry, and Fraud, that ever lodged in the Breaſt of any Individual.

AGAIN, In all Free States the Evil to be avoided is *Tyranny*: That is to ſay, the *Summa Imperii*, or unlimited Power ſolely in the Hands of the *One*, the *Few*, or the *Many*. Now, we have ſhewn, that although moſt Revolutions of Government in

*Greece* and *Rome* began with the Tyranny of the People, yet they generally concluded in that of a Single Perſon; ſo that an uſurping Populace is its own *Dupe*; a meer Underworker and a Purchaſer in Truſt for ſome Single Tyrant, whoſe State and Power they advance to their own Ruin, with as blind an Inſtinct, as thoſe Worms that die with weaving magnificent Habits for Beings of a Superior Nature to their own.

CHAP.

# CHAP. V.

SOME Reflections upon the late publick Proceedings among us, and that Variety of Factions into which we are ſtill ſo intricately engaged, gave Occaſion to this Diſcourſe. I am not conſcious that I have forced one Example, or put it into any other Light than it appeared to me, long before I had thoughts of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding ſome particular Remarks upon the preſent Poſture of Affairs and Diſpoſitions in this Kingdom.

THE Fate of Empire is grown a common-place: That all Forms of Government having been inſtituted by Men, muſt be mortal like their Authors, and have their Periods of Duration limited as well as thoſe of private Perſons; This is a Truth of vulgar

vulgar Knowledge and Obſervation: But there are few who turn their Thoughts to examine how thoſe Diſeaſes in a State are bred, that haſten its End; which would however be a very uſeful Enquiry. For tho' we cannot prolong the Period of a Commonwealth beyond the Decree of Heaven, or the Date of its Nature, any more than Human Life beyond the Strength of the Seminal Virtue; yet, we may manage a ſickly Conſtitution, and preſerve a ſtrong one; we may watch and prevent Accidents: we may turn off a great Blow from without, and purge away an ill Humour that is lurking within: And by theſe, and other ſuch Methods, render a State long-lived, tho' not immortal. Yet ſome Phyſicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the ſeveral Humours of the Body, in an exact equal Balance of each with its oppoſite, it might be immortal; and ſo perhaps would a political Body, if the Balance of Power could be always held exactly even. But I doubt, this is as impoſſible in the Practice as the other.

IT has an Appearance of Fatality and that the Period of a State approaches, when a Concurreance of many Circumſtances both within and without, unite toward its Ruin: while the whole Body of the People are either ſtupidly negligent, or elſe giving in with all their Might, to thoſe very Practices that are working their Deſtruction. To ſee whole Bodies of Men breaking a Conſtitution by the very ſame Errors that ſo many have been broke before: To obſerve oppoſite Parties, who can agree in nothing elſe, yet firmly united in ſuch Meaſures, as muſt certainly ruin their Country: In ſhort to be encompaſs'd with the greateſt Dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent Factions within; then to be ſecure and ſenſleſs under all this, and to make it the very leaſt of our Concern: Theſe and ſome others that might be named, appear to me to be the moſt likely Symptoms in a State, of a *Sickneſs unto Death.*

*Quod*

*Quod procul à nobis ſiet at Fortuna gubernans:*
*Et ratio potius, quam res perſuadeat ipſa.*
Lucr.

THERE are ſome Conjunctures wherein the Death or Diſſolution of Government is more lamentable in its Conſequences than it would be in others. And, I think, a State can never arrive to its Period in a more deplorable *Criſis*, than at a Time when ſome *Prince in the Neighbourhood*, of vaſt Power and Ambition, lies hovering like a Vulture to devour, or at leaſt, diſmember its dying Carcaſs; by which means it becomes only a Province or Acquiſition to ſome mighty Monarchy, without hopes of a Reſurrection.

I KNOW very well, there is a Set of ſanguine Tempers, who deride and ridicule in the Number of Fopperies all ſuch Apprehenſions as theſe. They have it ready in their Mouths, that the People of *England* are of a Genius and Temper, never to admit Slavery among

among them; and they are furniſh'd with a great many Common-Places upon that Subject. But it ſeems to me, that ſuch Diſcourſes do reaſon upon ſhort Views, and a very moderate Compaſs of Thought. For, I think it a great Error to count upon the Genius of a Nation as a ſtanding Argument in all Ages; ſince there is hardly a Spot of Ground in *Europe*, where the Inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their Temper and Genius. Neither can I ſee any Reaſon why the Genius of a Nation ſhould be more fixed in the Point of Government, than in their Morals, their Learning, their Religion, their common Humour and Converſation, their Diet, and their Complexion; which do all notoriouſly vary almoſt in every Age, and may every one of them have great Effects upon Mens Notions of Government.

SINCE the *Norman* Conqueſt, the Balance of Power in *England* has often varied, and ſometimes been wholly overturned; the Part which the Commons had in it, *that moſt diſputed Point*

*in*

*in its Original, Progreſs and Extent*, was, by their own Confeſſions, but a very inconſiderable ſhare. Generally ſpeaking, they have been gaining ever ſince, tho' with frequent Interruptions, and ſlow Progreſs. The aboliſhing of *Villanage*, together with the Cuſtom introduced (or permitted) among the Nobles of ſelling their Lands in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was a mighty Addition to the Power of the Commons; yet I think a much greater happened in the Time of his Succeſſor, at the Diſſolution of the Abbies. For this turned the *Clergy* wholly out of the Scale, who had ſo long filled it: and placed the *Commons* in their ſtead; who in a few Years became poſſeſſed of vaſt Quantities of thoſe and other Lands, by Grant or Purchaſe. About the middle of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, I take the Power between the Nobles and the Commons to have been in more equal Balance, than it was ever before or ſince. But then, or ſoon after, aroſe a Faction in *England*, which under the Name of *Puritan*, began to grow Popular, by molding up their new Schemes of Religion with

Repub-

Republican Principles in Government; and gaining upon the *Prerogative*, as well as the *Nobles*, under several Denominations for the space of about sixty Years, did at last overthrow the Constitution, and according to the usual Course of such Revolutions, did introduce a Tyranny, first of the People, and then of a single Person.

IN a short Time after, the old Government was revived. But the Progress of Affairs for almost Thirty Years, under the Reigns of two weak Princes, is a Subject of a very different Nature: when the Balance was in danger to be overturned by the Hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late Revolution. However, as it is the Talent of human Nature to run from one Extream to another; so, in a very few Years we have made mighty Leaps from Prerogative Heights into the Depths of Popularity; and I doubt, to the very last Degree that our Constitution will bear. It were to be wish'd, that the most August Assembly of the Commons would please to form a *Pandect* of their own

Power

Power and Privileges, to be confirmed by the entire Legiſlative Authority, and that in as ſolemn a Manner (if they pleaſe) as the *Magna Charta*. But to fix one Foot of their Compaſs where-ever they think fit, and extend the other to ſuch terrible Lengths, without deſcribing any Circumference at all, is to leave us and themſelves in a very uncertain State, and in a ſort of *Rotation*, that the Author of the *Oceana* never dreamt on. I believe the moſt hardy Tribune will not venture to affirm at preſent, that any juſt Fears of Encroachment are given us from the Regal Power or the *Few*: And, is it then impoſſible to err on the other ſide? How far muſt we proceed, or where ſhall we ſtop? *The raging of the Sea*, and *the Madneſs of the People* are put together in Holy Writ; and 'tis God alone who can ſay to either, *Hitherto ſhalt thou paſs and no farther.*

THE Balance of Power in a limited State is of ſuch abſolute Neceſſity, that *Cromwell* himſelf, before he had perfectly confirmed his Tyranny, having ſome Occaſions for the Appearance of

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a Parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new House of Lords (such as it was) for a Counterpoise to the Commons. And indeed, considering the Vileness of the Clay, I have sometimes wonder'd, that no Tribune of that Age durst ever venture to ask the *Potter*, *What doſt thou make?* But it was then about the laſt Act of a Popular Uſurpation, and *Fate* or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a ſingle Perſon.

I have been often amazed at the rude, paſſionate and miſtaken Reſults, which have at certain Times fallen from great Aſſemblies both Antient and Modern, and of other Countries as well as our own. This gave me the Opinion I mentioned a while ago, That publick Conventions are liable to all the Infirmities, Follies and Vices of private Men. To which, if there be any Exception, it muſt be of ſuch Aſſemblies who act by *univerſal Concert*, *upon Publick Principles*, *and for publick Ends*; ſuch as proceed upon Debates without *unbecoming Warmths*,

or *Influence from particular Leaders and Inflamers*, ſuch whoſe Members inſtead *of canvaſſing to procure Majorities for their private Opinions, are ready to comply with general ſober Reſults, tho' contrary to their own Sentiments.* Whatever Aſſemblies act by theſe and other Methods of the like Nature, muſt be allowed to be exempt from ſeveral Imperfections to which particular Men are ſubjected. But I think the Source of moſt Miſtakes and Miſcarriages, in Matters debated by Publick Aſſemblies, ariſes from the Influence of private Perſons upon great Numbers; ſtiled in common Phraſe, *Leading Men and Parties.* And therefore when we ſometimes meet a *few Words* put together, which is called the *Vote* or *Reſolution* of an Aſſembly, and which we cannot poſſibly reconcile to *Prudence* or *Publick Good*, it is moſt charitable to conjecture, that ſuch a Vote has been conceived, and born and bred in a private Brain, afterwards raiſed and ſupported by an obſequious Party, and then with uſual Methods confirmed by an *artificial* Majority. For, let us ſuppoſe five

five hundred Men, mixt in point of Senſe and Honeſty, as uſually Aſſemblies are: And let us ſuppoſe theſe Men propoſing, debating, reſolving, voting, according to the meer natural Motions of their own little or much Reaſon and Underſtanding; I do allow, that Abundance of indigeſted and abortive, many pernicious and fooliſh Overtures would ariſe and float a few Minutes; but then they would die and diſappear. Becauſe, this muſt be ſaid in behalf of Human-kind, that common Senſe and plain Reaſon, while Men are diſengaged from acquired Opinions, will ever have ſome general Influence upon their Minds; whereas the Species of Folly and Vice are infinite, and ſo different in every Individual, that they could never procure a Majority, if other Corruptions did not enter to pervert Mens Underſtandings, and miſguide their Wills.

TO deſcribe how Parties are bred in an Aſſembly, would be a Work too difficult at preſent, and perhaps not altogether ſafe. *Periculoſæ plenum*

*opus aleæ*. Whether thoſe who are Leaders, uſually arrive at that Station more by a Sort of Inſtinct, or ſecret Compoſition of their Nature or Influence of the Stars, than by the Poſſeſſion of any great Abilities, may be a Point of much Diſpute. But when the Leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be Followers. And Man is ſo apt to *imitate*, ſo much of the Nature of *Sheep* (*Imitatores, ſervum Pecus*) that whoever is ſo bold to give the firſt *great Leap over the Heads of thoſe about him*, (tho' he be the worſt of the Flock) ſhall be quickly followed by the reſt. Beſides, when Parties are once formed, the Stragglers look ſo ridiculous, and become ſo inſignificant, that they have no other Way, but to run into the Herd, which at leaſt will hide and protect them; and where to be much conſidered, requires only to be very violent.

BUT there is one Circumſtance with Relation to Parties, which I take to be of all others moſt pernicious in a State; and I would be glad

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any Partizan would help me to a tolerable Reason, that becauſe *Clodius* and *Curio* happen to agree with me in a few ſingular Notions, I muſt therefore blindly follow them in all: Or, to ſtate it at beſt, that becauſe *Bibulus* the *Party-man* is perſuaded that *Clodius* and *Curio* do really propoſe the Good of their Country as their chief End; therefore *Bibulus* ſhall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the Means and Meaſures towards it. Is it enough for *Bibulus* and the reſt of the Herd to ſay without further examining, *I am of the ſide with* Clodius, *or I vote with* Curio? Are theſe proper Methods to form and make up what they think fit to call *the united Wiſdom of the Nation*? Is it not poſſible, that upon ſome Occaſion *Clodius* may be bold and inſolent, born away by his Paſſion, malicious and revengeful; that *Curio* may be corrupt, and expoſe to ſale his Tongue or his Pen? I conceive it far below the Dignity both of Human Nature, and Human Reaſon, to be engaged in any Party, the moſt plauſible ſoever, upon ſuch ſervile Conditions.

THIS Influence of *One* upon *Many*, which ſeems to be as great in a People *Repreſented*, as it was of old in the Commons *Collective*, together with the Conſequences it has had upon the Legiſlature; has given me frequent Occaſion to reflect upon what *Diodorus* tells us of one *Charondas*, a Lawgiver to the *Sybarites*, an antient People of *Italy*; who was ſo averſe to all Innovation, eſpecially when it was to proceed from particular Perſons; and I ſuppoſe, that he might put it out of the Power of Men, fond of their own Notions, to diſturb the Conſtitution at their Pleaſures, by advancing private Schemes; that he provided a Statute, that whoever propoſed any Alteration to be made, would ſtep out and do it with a Rope about his Neck: If the Matter propoſed, were generally approved, then it ſhould paſs into a Law; if it went in the Negative, the Propoſer to be immediately *hang'd*. Great Miniſters may talk of what Projects they pleaſe; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off*

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(as the preſent Phraſe is) thoſe hot, unquiet Spirits, who diſturb Aſſemblies, and obſtruct Publick Affairs, by gratifying their Pride, their Malice, their Ambition, or their Avarice.

THOSE who in a late Reign began the Diſtinction between the *Perſonal* and *Politic* Capacity, ſeem to have had Reaſon, if they judged of Princes by themſelves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found thro' all Nature, a greater difference between two Things, than there is between a Repreſenting Commoner in the Function of his Publick Calling, and the ſame Perſon, when he acts in the common Offices of Life. Here, he allows himſelf to be upon a Level with the reſt of Mortals: Here, he follows his own Reaſon, and his own Way; and rather affects a Singularity in his Actions and Thoughts, than ſervilely to copy either from the wiſeſt of his Neighbours. In ſhort, here his Folly, and his Wiſdom, his Reaſon and his Paſſions, are all of his own Growth, not the Eccho or Infuſion of other Men. But when he is got near the Walls of his Aſſembly,

he aſſumes and affects an entire Set of very different Airs; he conceives himſelf a Being of a Superior Nature to thoſe *without*, and acting in a Sphere where the vulgar Methods for the Conduct of Human Life can be of no Uſe. He is liſted in a Party where he neither knows the Temper, nor Deſigns, nor perhaps the Perſon of his Leader; by whoſe Opinions he follows and maintains with a Zeal and Faith as violent, as a young Scholar does thoſe of a Philoſopher, whoſe Sect he is taught to profeſs. He has neither Opinions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his Leader, as Wind is through an Organ. The Nouriſhment he receives has been not only *chewed*, but *digeſted* before it comes into his Mouth. Thus inſtructed, he follows the *Party* right or wrong thro all its Sentiments, and acquires a Courage and Stiffneſs of Opinion not at all congenial with him.

THIS encourages me to hope, that during this lucid Interval, the Members retired to their Homes, may

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ſuſpend a while their *acquired Complexions*, and, taught by the Calmneſs of the Scene and the Seaſon, reaſſume the native ſedateneſs of their Temper. If this ſhould be ſo, it would be wiſe in them, as individual and private Mortals, to look back a little upon the Storms they have *raiſed*, as well as thoſe they have *eſcaped*: To reflect, that they have been Authors of a new and wonderful Thing in *England*, which is, for a Houſe of Commons to loſe the univerſal Favour of the Numbers they repreſent. To obſerve, how thoſe whom they thought fit to perſecute for Righteouſneſs ſake, have been openly careſs'd by the People; and to remember how themſelves ſate in fear of their Perſons from popular Rage. Now, if they would know the Secret of all this unpreſidented Proceeding in their *Maſters*; they muſt not impute it to their Freedom in Debate, or declaring their Opinions; but to that unparliamentary Abuſe of ſetting Individuals upon their Shoulders, who were hated by God and Man. For, it ſeems, the Maſs of the People, in ſuch Conjunctures

ctures as this, have opened their Eyes, and will not endure to be governed by *Clodius* and *Curio* at the Head of their *Myrmidons*, tho' theſe be ever ſo numerous, and compoſed of their own Repreſentatives.

THIS Averſion of the People for the late Proceedings of the Commons, is an Accident, that if it laſt a while might be improved to good Uſes for ſetting the Balance of Power a little more upon an Equality, than their late Meaſures ſeem to promiſe or admit. This Accident may be imputed to two Cauſes. The Firſt, is an univerſal Fear and Apprehenſion of the Greatneſs and Power of *France*, whereof the People in general ſeem to be very much and juſtly poſſeſs'd, and therefore cannot but reſent to ſee it in ſo critical a Juncture, wholly laid aſide by their *Miniſters*, the Commons. The other Cauſe, is a great Love and Senſe of Gratitude in the People towards their Preſent King, grounded upon a long Opinion and Experience of his Merit, as well as Conceſſions to all their reaſonable Deſires;

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ſo that it is for ſome time they have begun to ſay, and to fetch Inſtances where he has in many things been hardly uſed. How long theſe Humours may laſt, (for Paſſions are momentary, and eſpecially thoſe of a Multitude) or what Conſequences they may produce, a little time may diſcover. But whenever it comes to paſs, that a popular Aſſembly, free from ſuch Obſtructions, and already poſſeſs'd of more Power, than an equal Balance will allow, ſhall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the Hand that holds the Balance, and by Impeachments or Diſſentions with the Nobles, endeavour ſtill for more; I cannot poſſibly ſee, in the common courſe of things, how the ſame Cauſes can produce different Effects and Conſequences among us, from what they did in *Greece* and *Rome*.

FINIS.

FINIS.

# THE SENTIMENTS OF A *Church of England-Man*

With Respect to

RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1708.

WHOEVER has examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both *Parties* for some Years past, whether in or out of Power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the Extreams of either, without offering some Violence to his Integrity or Understanding. A Wise and a good Man

Man may indeed be ſometimes induced to comply with a Number whoſe Opinion he generally approves, tho' it be perhaps againſt his own. But this Liberty ſhould be made uſe of upon very few Occaſions, and thoſe of ſmall Importance, and then only with a View of bringing over his own Side another Time to ſomething of greater and more Publick Moment. But, to Sacrifice the Innocency of a Friend, the Good of our Country, or our own Conſcience, to the Humour, or Paſſion, or Intereſt of a Party, plainly ſhews that either our Heads or our Hearts are not as they ſhould be. Yet this very Practice is the Fundamental Law of each Faction among us, as may be obvious to any who will Impartially and without Engagement be at the Pains to examine their Actions; which however is not ſo eaſy a Task: For it ſeems a Principle in Human Nature, to incline one Way more than another, even in Matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a Common Obſervation, that in reading a Hiſtory of Facts done a Thouſand Years ago, or

or ſtanding by at Play among thoſe who are perfect Strangers to us, we are apt to find our Hopes and Wiſhes engaged on a ſudden in favour of one ſide more than another. No wonder then we are all ſo ready to intereſt our ſelves in the Courſe of Publick Affairs, where the moſt inconſiderable have ſome *real* Share, and by the wonderful Importance which every Man is of to himſelf, a very great *imaginary* one.

AND indeed, when the two Parties that divide the whole Commonwealth, come once to a Rupture, without any Hopes left of forming a third with better Principles, to Balance the others; it ſeems every Man's Duty to chuſe a Side, tho' he cannot entirely approve of either; And all Pretences to Neutrality are juſtly Exploded by both, being too Stale and Obvious, only intending the Safety and Eaſe of a few Individuals while the Publick is Embroiled. This was the Opinion and Practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I eſteem to have been the wiſeſt and beſt of all the *Romans*.

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But before things proceed to open Violence, the trueſt Service a private Man may hope to do in his Country, is by unbiaſſing his Mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the Rival Powers, which muſt needs be owned a fair Proceeding with the World, becauſe it is of all others the leaſt conſiſtent with the common Deſign, of making a Fortune by the *Merit* of an *Opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying my ſelf to be ſuch a Moderator. I believe I am no *Bigot* in Religion, and I am ſure I am none in Government. I converſe in full Freedom with many conſiderable Men of both Parties, and if not in equal Number, it is purely accidental and Perſonal, as happening to be near the Court, and to have made Acquaintance there, more under one Miniſtry than another. Then, I am not under the neceſſity of declaring my ſelf by the Proſpect of an Employment. And laſtly, if all this be not ſufficient, I induſtriouſly conceal my Name,

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which wholly exempts me from any Hopes and Fears in delivering my Opinion.

In conſequence of this free Uſe of my Reaſon, I cannot poſſibly think ſo well or ſo ill of either Party, as they would endeavour to perſwade the World of each other and of themſelves. For Inſtance; I do not charge it upon the Body of the *Whigs* or the *Tories*, that their ſeveral Principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, or a Commonwealth and Arbitrary Power. For, why ſhould any Party be accuſed of a Principle which they ſolemnly diſown and proteſt againſt? But, to this they have a mutual Anſwer ready; they both aſſure us, that their Adverſaries are not to be believed, that they diſown their Principles out of Fear, which are manifeſt enough when we examine their Practices. To prove this, they will produce Inſtances, on one ſide, either of avowed Presbyterians, or Perſons of Libertine and Atheiſtical Tenets; and on the other, of profeſſed

Papiſts, or ſuch as are openly in the Intereſt of the Abdicated Family. Now, it is very natural for all ſubordinate Sects and Denominations in a State, to ſide with ſome general Party, and to chuſe that which they find to agree with themſelves in ſome general Principle. Thus at the *Reſtoration*, the Presbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other Sects, did all with very good Reaſon unite, and Sodder up their ſeveral Schemes to join againſt the *Church*, who without regard to their Diſtinctions, treated them all as equal Adverſaries. Thus, our preſent Diſſenters do very naturally cloſe in with the Whigs, who profeſs *Moderation*, declare they abhor all Thoughts of *Perſecution*, and think it hard that thoſe who differ only in a few *Ceremonies* and *Speculations*, ſhould be denied the Privilege and Profit of Serving their Country in the higheſt Employments of State. Thus, the Atheiſts, Libertines, Deſpiſers of Religion and Revelation in general, that is to ſay, all thoſe who uſually paſs under the Name of *Free-Thinkers*, do properly join with the ſame

ſame Body; becauſe *They* likewiſe Preach up Moderation, and are not ſo over-nice to diſtinguiſh between an unlimited Liberty of Conſcience, and an unlimited Freedom of Opinion. Then on the other ſide, the Profeſt Firmneſs of the *Tories* for Epiſcopacy as an Apoſtolical Inſtitution: Their Averſion to thoſe Sects who lye under the Reproach of having once deſtroyed their Conſtitution, and who they imagine, by too indiſcreet a Zeal for Reformation have defaced the Primitive Model of the Church: Next, their Veneration for Monarchical Government in the common Courſe of Succeſſion, and their Hatred to Republican Schemes. Theſe, I ſay, are Principles which not only the Non-juring Zealots profeſs, but even Papiſts themſelves fall readily in with. And every Extream here mentioned flings a general Scandal upon the whole Body it pretends to adhere to.

BUT ſurely no Man whatſoever ought in Juſtice or good Manners to be charged with Principles he actu-

ally disowns, unless his Practices do openly and without the least Room for doubt contradict his Profession: Not upon small Surmises, or because he has the Misfortune to have Ill Men sometimes agree with him in a few general Sentiments. However, tho' the Extreams of *Whig* and *Tory* seem with little Justice to have drawn Religion into their Controversies, wherein they have small Concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading Principle from the Abuse of it; Which is, to have built their several Systems of Political Faith, not upon Enquiries after Truth, but upon Opposition to each other, upon injurious Appellations, charging their Adversaries with horrid Opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of Charity; *Et neuter falso.*

IN order to remove these Prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to describe the Sentiments of a *Church of England-Man* with respect to *Religion* and *Government.* This I shall endeavour to do in such a manner as may be liable

liable to the leaſt Objection from either Party, and which I am confident would be aſſented to by great Numbers in both, if they were not miſled to thoſe mutual Miſrepreſentations, by ſuch Motives as they would be aſhamed to own.

I ſhall begin with *Religion.*

AND here tho' it makes an odd Sound, yet it is neceſſary to ſay, that whoever profeſſeth himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, ought to believe a God and His Providence, together with Revealed Religion, and the Divinity of *Chriſt*. For beſide thoſe many Thouſands, who (to ſpeak in the Phraſe of Divines) do practically deny all this by the Immorality of their Lives; there is no ſmall Number who in their Converſation and Writings directly or by conſequence endeavour to overthrow it: Yet all theſe place themſelves in the Liſt of the National Church, tho' at the ſame time (as it is highly reaſonable) they are great Sticklers for Liberty of Conſcience.

TO enter upon Particulars; A *Church of England-Man* has a true Veneration for the Scheme eſtabliſhed among us of Eccleſiaſtick Government; and tho' he will not determine whether Epiſcopacy be of Divine Right, he is ſure it is moſt agreeable to Primitive Inſtitution, fitteſt of all others for preſerving Order and Purity, and under his preſent Regulations beſt calculated for our Civil State: He ſhould therefore think the Aboliſhment of that Order among us would prove a mighty Scandal and Corruption to our Faith, and manifeſtly dangerous to our Monarchy; nay he would defend it by Arms againſt all the Powers on Earth, except our own Legiſlature; in which Caſe he would ſubmit as to a general Calamity, a Dearth, or a Peſtilence.

AS to Rites and Ceremonies, and Forms of Prayer; he allows there might be ſome uſeful Alterations, and more, which in the Proſpect of uniting Chriſtians might be very ſupportable, as Things declared in their own

own nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the *Clergy*, or, (tho' this be not ſo fair a Method) if the *Legiſlature* ſhould direct: Yet at the ſame time he cannot altogether blame the Former for their unwillingneſs to conſent to any Alteration, which beſide the Trouble, and perhaps Diſgrace, would certainly never produce the good Effects intended by it. The only condition that could make it prudent and juſt for the Clergy to comply in altering the Ceremonial or any other indifferent Part would be, a firm Reſolution in the Legiſlature to interpoſe by ſome ſtrict and effectual Laws to prevent the riſing and ſpreading of new Sects, how plauſible ſoever, for the future; olſe they muſt never be at an End; And it would be to act like a Man who ſhould pull down and change the Ornaments of his Houſe, in Compliance to every one that was diſpoſed to find fault as he paſſed by; which beſides the perpetual Trouble and Expence, would very much damage, and perhaps in time deſtroy the Building. Sects in a

State ſeem only tolerated with any Reaſon becauſe they are already ſpread; and becauſe it would not be agreeable with ſo mild a Government, or ſo pure a Religion as ours, to uſe violent Methods againſt great Numbers of *miſtaken* People, while they do not manifeſtly endanger the Conſtitution of either. But the greateſt Advocates for general Liberty of Conſcience, will allow they ought to be check'd in their Beginnings, if they will allow them to be an Evil at all, or which is the ſame thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the Peace of the State, that there ſhould be none. But while the Clergy conſider the natural Temper of Mankind in general, or of our own Country in particular, what Aſſurances can they have, that any Compliances they ſhall make, will remove the Evil of Diſſention, while the Liberty ſtill continues of profeſſing what new Opinions we pleaſe? Or how can it be imagined that the Body of Diſſenting Teachers, who muſt be all undone by ſuch a Revolution, will not caſt about for ſome new Objections to with-

with-hold their Flocks, and draw in freſh Proſelites by ſome further Innovations or Refinements?

UPON theſe Reaſons he is for tolerating ſuch different Forms in Religious Worſhip as are already admitted, but by no means for leaving it in the Power of thoſe who are tolerated, to advance their own Models upon the Ruin of what is already Eſtabliſhed, which it is natural for all Sects to deſire, and which they cannot juſtify by any conſiſtent Principles if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot ſucceed in without the utmoſt Danger to the Publick Peace.

TO prevent theſe Inconveniences, He thinks it highly juſt, that all Rewards of Truſt, Profit or Dignity, which the State leaves in the Diſpoſal of the Adminiſtration, ſhould be given only to thoſe whoſe Principles direct them to preſerve the Conſtitution in all its Parts. In the late Affair of *Occaſional Conformity*, the general Argument of thoſe who were againſt it,

it, was not, to deny it an Evil in it ſelf, but that the Remedy propoſed was violent, untimely, and improper, which is the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Opinion in the Speech he made and publiſhed againſt the Bill; But, however juſt their Fears or Complaints might have been upon that Score, he thinks it a little too groſs and precipitate to employ their Writers already in Arguments for repealing the Sacramental Teſt, upon no wiſer a Maxim, than that no Man ſhould on the Account of Conſcience be deprived the Liberty of Serving his Country, a Topick which may be equally applied to admit *Papiſts*, *Athieſts*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens* and *Jews*. If the Church wants Members of its own to employ in the Service of the Publick; or be ſo unhappily contrived as to exclude from its Communion ſuch Perſons who are likelieſt to have great Abilities; it is time it ſhould be altered and reduced into ſome more perfect, or at leaſt more popular Form: But in the mean while it is not altogether improbable, that when thoſe who

who diſlike the Conſtitution, are ſo very zealous in their Offers for the Service of their Country, they are not wholly unmindful of their Party or of themſelves.

THE *Dutch*, whoſe Practice is ſo often quoted to prove and celebrate the great Advantages of a general Liberty of Conſcience, have yet a National Religion profeſſed by all who bear Office among them; But why ſhould they be a Precedent for us either in Religion or Government? Our Country differs from theirs, as well in Situation, Soil, and Productions of Nature, as in the Genius and Complexion of Inhabitants. They are a Commonwealth founded on a ſudden, by a deſperate Attempt in a deſperate Condition, not formed or digeſted into a regular Syſtem by mature Thought and Reaſon, but huddled up under the Preſſure of ſudden Exigencies: calculated for no long Duration, and hitherto Subſiſting by Accident in the midſt of contending Powers, who cannot *yet* agree about Sharing it amongſt them. Theſe Difficulties do indeed

indeed preſerve them from any great Corruptions, which their crazy Conſtitution would extreamly ſubject them to in a long Peace. That Confluence of People in a perſecuting Age, to a Place of Refuge neareſt at Hand, put them upon the Neceſſity of Trade, to which they wiſely gave all Eaſe and Encouragement: And if we could think fit to imitate them in this laſt Particular, there would need no more to invite Foreigners among us; who ſeem to think no farther than how to ſecure their Property and Conſcience, without projecting any Share in that Government which gives them Protection, or calling it *Perſecution* if it be denied them. But I ſpeak it for the Honour of our Adminiſtration, that although our Sects are not ſo numerous as thoſe in *Holland*, which I preſume is not our *Fault*, and I hope is not our *Misfortune*, we much excel them and all *Chriſtendom* beſides in our Indulgence to tender Conſciences. One ſingle Complyance with the National Form of receiving the Sacrament, is all we require to qualify any Sectary among us for the greateſt

Employ-

Employments in the State, after which he is at Liberty to rejoyn his own Aſſemblies for the reſt of his Life. Beſides, I will ſuppoſe any of the numerous Sects in *Holland*, to have ſo far prevailed as to have raiſed a Civil War, deſtroyed their Government and Religion, and put their *Adminiſtrators* to Death; after which I will ſuppoſe the People to have recovered all again, and to have ſettled on their old Foundation. Then I would put a Query, whether that Sect which was the unhappy Inſtrument of all this Confuſion, could reaſonably expect to be entruſted for the future with the greateſt Employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

TO go on with the Sentiments of a *Church of England-Man*: He does not ſee how that mighty Paſſion for the Church which ſome Men pretend, can well conſiſt with thoſe Indignities and that Contempt they beſtow on the Perſons of the Clergy. 'Tis a ſtrange Mark whereby to diſtinguiſh *High* Church-men, that they are ſuch who imagine the Clergy can never be too

too *Low*. He thinks the Maxim theſe Gentlemen are ſo fond of, that they are for an Humble Clergy, is a very good one; And ſo is he, and for an Humble Laity too, ſince Humility is a Virtue that perhaps equally benefits and adorns every Station of Life.

BUT then if the Scribblers on the other Side freely ſpeak the Sentiments of their Party, a Divine of the Church of *England* cannot look for much better Quarter from thence. You ſhall obſerve nothing more frequent in their Weekly Papers, than a Way of affecting to confound the Terms of *Clergy* and *High-Church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the Calumny they can invent. They will tell you they Honour a Clergy-man; but talk at the ſame time as if there were not three in the Kingdom who could fall in with their Definition. After the like Manner they inſult the *Univerſities* as Poiſoned Fountains, and Corrupters of Youth.

NOW

NOW it ſeems clear to me that the *Whigs* might eaſily have procured and maintained a Majority among the Clergy, and perhaps in the Univerſities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this Intemperance of Speech, and Virulence of Pen, in the worſt and moſt proſtitute of their Party; among whom there hath been for ſome Years paſt ſuch a perpetual Clamour againſt the Ambition, the Implacable Temper, and the Covetouſneſs of the *Prieſthood*: Such a Cant of *High-Church*, and *Perſecution*, and being *Prieſt-ridden*; ſo many Reproaches about *Narrow Principles*, or *Terms of Communion*: Then ſuch Scandalous Reflections on the Univerſities, for infecting the Youth of the Nation with Arbitrary and *Jacobite* Principles, that it was natural for thoſe who had the Care of Religion and Education, to apprehend ſome general Deſign of altering the Conſtitution of both. And all this was the more extraordidary, becauſe it could not eaſily be forgot, that whatever Oppoſition was made to the Uſurpations of *King*

*King James*, proceeded altogether from the Church of *England*, and chiefly from the *Clergy*, and one of the Universities. For, if it were of any use to recal Matters of Fact, what is more notorious than the Prince's applying himself first to the Church of *England*, and upon their Refusal to fall in with his Measures, making the like Advances to the *Dissenters* of all Kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with Him, affecting in their numerous Addresses and Pamphlets, the Style of *Our Brethren the Roman Catholicks*, whose Interests they put on the same Foot with their own; and some of *Cromwell's* Officers took Posts in the Army raised against the Prince of *Orange*. These Proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the Provocations they had met from the Church in King *Charles's* Reign; which tho' perhaps excusable upon the Score of Human Infirmity, are not by any Means a Plea of Merit equal to the Constancy and Sufferings of the Bishops and Clergy, or of the Head and Fellows of *Magdalen* College, that furnished the

the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration with ſuch powerful Arguments to juſtify and promote the Revolution.

THEREFORE a *Church of England* Man abhors the Humour of the Age in delighting to fling Scandals upon the Clergy in general; which beſides the Diſgrace to the Reformation, and to Religion it ſelf, caſts an Ignominy upon the Kingdom that it doth not deſerve. We have no better Materials to compound the Prieſthood of, than the Maſs of Mankind, which corrupted as it is, thoſe who receive Orders muſt have ſome Vices to leave behind them when they enter into the Church, and if a few do ſtill adhere, it is no Wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worſe. Therefore he cannot think *Ambition* or *Love of Power* more juſtly laid to their Charge than to other Men, becauſe, that would be to make Religion it ſelf, or at leaſt the beſt Conſtitution of Church Government, anſwerable for the Errors and Depravity of Human Nature.

WITHIN these last Two Hundred Years all sorts of Temporal Power hath been wrested from the Clergy, and much of their Ecclesiastick, the Reason or Justice of which Proceeding I shall not examine; but, that the Remedies were a little too violent with respect to their *Possessions*, the Legislature hath lately confessed by the Remission of their *First-Fruits*. Neither do the common Libellers deny this, who in their Invectives only tax the Church with an unsatiable Desire of Power and Wealth (equally common to all Bodies of Men as well as Individuals) but thank God, that the Laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth observing the Justice of Parties; The Sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard Usage to be reproached now after Fifty Years for overturning the State, for the Murder of a King, and the Indignity of a Usurpation; yet these very Men and their Partisans are continually reproaching the Clergy, and laying to their Charge the Pride, the Avarice, the Luxury, the Ignorance,

rance, and Superſtition of *Popiſh* Times for a thouſand Years paſt.

HE thinks it a Scandal to Government that ſuch an unlimited Liberty ſhould be allowed of publiſhing Books againſt thoſe Doctrines in Religion, wherein all Chriſtians have agreed, much more to connive at ſuch Tracts as reject all Revelation, and by their Conſequences often deny the very Being of a God. Surely 'tis not a ſufficient Atonement for the Writers, that they profeſs much Loyalty to the preſent Government, and ſprinkle up and down ſome Arguments in favour of the *Diſſenters*; that they diſpute as ſtrenuouſly as they can for Liberty of Conſcience, and inveigh largely againſt all Eccleſiaſticks under the Name of *High-Church*; and, in ſhort, under the ſhelter of ſome popular Principles in Politicks and Religion, undermine the Foundations of all Piety and Virtue.

AS he does not reckon every *Schiſm* of that damnable Nature which ſome would repreſent; ſo he is very

far from closing with the new Opinion of those who would make it no Crime at all, and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the Variety of Faith and Worship, as he is with the Varieties of Nature. To such Absurdities are Men carried by the Affectation of *free Thinking*, and *removing the Prejudices of Education*, under which Head they have for some time begun to List *Morality* and *Religion*. It is certain that before the *Rebellion* in 1642, tho' the Number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) were as great as it is with us; and though they affected to follow Pastors of that Denomination, yet those Pastors had Episcopal Ordination, possessed Preferments in the Church, and were sometimes promoted to Bishopricks themselves. But, a Breach in the general Form of Worship was in those Days reckoned so dangerous and sinful in it self, and so offensive to *Roman-Catholicks* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted; neither, I believe, was the Expedient then found out of maintaining separate Pastors out of private Purses.

WHEN

WHEN a *Schiſm* is once ſpread in a Nation, there grows at length a Diſpute, which are the Schiſmaticks. Without entring on the Arguments, uſed by both ſides among us, to fix the Guilt on each other; 'tis certain, that in the ſenſe of the Law, the *Schiſm* lies on that ſide which oppoſes it ſelf to the Religion of the State. I ſhall leave it among the *Divines* to dilate upon the danger of *Schiſm* as a Spiritual Evil; but I would conſider it only as a Temporal one. And I think it clear that any great Separation from the Eſtabliſhed Worſhip, though to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an Occaſion of endangering the Publick Peace, becauſe it will compoſe a Body always in Reſerve, prepared to follow any diſcontented Heads upon the plauſible Pretexts of advancing *true Religion*, and oppoſing Error, Superſtition, or Idolatry. For this Reaſon *Plato* lays it down as a Maxim, that, *Men ought to worſhip the gods according to the Laws of the Country*; and he introduces *Socrates* in his laſt Diſcourſe utterly

disowning the Crime laid to his Charge, of *teaching new Divinities* or Methods of Worship. Thus the poor *Hugonots* of *France* were engaged in a Civil War, by the specious Pretences of some, who under the Guise of Religion Sacrificed so many Thousand Lives, to their own Ambition and Revenge. Thus was the whole Body of *Puritans* in *England* drawn to be Instrumental, or Abettors of all manner of Villany, by the Artifices of a *few Men*, whose * Designs from the first were levelled to destroy the Constitution both of Religion and Government. And thus even in *Holland* it self, where it is pretended that the Variety of Sects live so Amicably together, and in such perfect Obedience to the Magistrate, 'tis notorious how a turbulent Party joining with the *Arminians*, did in the Memory of our Fathers Attempt to destroy the Liberty of that Republick. So that upon the whole, where *Sects* are tolerated in a State, 'tis fit they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience, and every other Privilege of Free-born Subjects *to which no Power is annexed.* And to preserve their Obedi-

* *Lord* Clarendon's *History.*

Obedience upon all Emergencies, a Government cannot give them too much Eaſe, nor truſt them with too little *Power.*

THE *Clergy* are uſually charged with a *Perſecuting Spirit*, which they are ſaid to diſcover by an implacable Hatred to all *Diſſenters*; and this appears to be more unreaſonable, becauſe they ſuffer leſs in their Intereſts by a *Toleration* than any of the *Conforming Laity:* For while the *Church* remains in its preſent Form, no Diſſenter can poſſibly have any ſhare in its Dignities, Revenues, or Power; whereas, by once receiving the Sacrament, he is render'd capable of the higheſt Employments in the State. And it is very poſſible, that a narrow Education, together with a mixture of Human Infirmity, may help to beget among ſome of the *Clergy in Poſſeſſion* ſuch an Averſion and Contempt for all *Innovators*, as *Phyſicians* are apt to have for *Empiricks*, or *Lawyers* for *Pettifoggers*, or *Merchants* for *Pedlars*; But ſince the Number of Sectaries does not concern the Clergy either in point

of Interest or Conscience, (it being an Evil not in their Power to remedy) 'tis more fair and reasonable to suppose their Dislike proceeds from the Dangers they apprehend to the Peace of the Commonwealth, in the Ruin whereof they must expect to be the first and greatest Sufferers.

TO conclude this Section, it must be observed, there is a very good Word, which hath of late suffered much by both Parties, and that is, *Moderation*, which the one Side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passes every Day in Conversation, any Man who reads the Papers published by Mr. *L* ——*y* and others of his Stamp must needs conclude, that if this Author could make the Nation see his Adversaries under the Colours he Paints them in, we had nothing else to do, but rise as one Man and destroy such Wretches from the Face of the Earth. On the other Side how shall we excuse the Advocates for *Moderation*; among whom I could appeal to a hundred Papers of universal Approba-

probation by the Cauſe they were writ for, which lay ſuch Principles to the whole Body of the *Tories*, as if they were true, and believed, our next Buſineſs ſhould in Prudence be to erect Gibbets in every Pariſh, and Hang them out of the Way. But I ſuppoſe it is preſumed, the Common People underſtand *Raillery*, or at leaſt *Rhetorick*, and will not take *Hyperbole*'s in too literal a Senſe; which however in ſome Junctures might prove a deſperate Experiment. And this is *Moderation* in the *Modern* Senſe of the Word, to which, ſpeaking impartially, the Bigots of both Parties are *equally* entitled.

SECT.

## SECT. 2.

## *The Sentiments of a* Church of England *Man, with respect to Government.*

WE look upon it as a very juſt Reproach, tho' we cannot agree where to fix it, that there ſhould be ſo much Violence and Hatred in religious Matters, among Men who agree in all Fundamentals, and only differ in ſome Ceremonies, or at moſt meer Speculative Points. Yet is not this frequently the Caſe between contending Parties in a State? For inſtance; Do not the generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, profeſs to agree in the ſame *Fundamentals*, their Loyalty to the Queen, their Abjuration of the *Pretender*, the Settlement of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and a Revolution Principle;

ciple; their Affection to the Church eſtabliſhed, with Toleration of Diſſenters? Nay ſometimes they go farther, and paſs over into each others Principles; the *Whigs* become great Aſſerters of the Prerogative, and the *Tories* of the Peoples Liberty; theſe crying down almoſt the whole Sett of Biſhops, and thoſe defending them; So that the Differences fairly Stated, would be much of a Sort with thoſe of Religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who ſhould take Place*, or *go in and out firſt*, or *Kiſs the Queen's Hand*; and what are theſe but a few *Court Ceremonies*? Or, *who ſhould be in the Miniſtry*; and what is that to the Body of the Nation, but a meer *Speculative Point*. Yet I think it muſt be allowed, that no Religious Sect ever carried their Averſions for each other to greater Heights than our State-Parties have done, who the more to inflame their Paſſions, have mixed Religious and Civil Animoſities together; borrowing one of their Appellations from the Church, with the Addition of *High* and *Low*, how little ſoever their Diſputes relate to

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the Term as it is generally understood.

I now proceed to deliver the Sentiments of a *Church of England* Man with respect to Government.

HE does not think the Church of *England* so narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular Species of Government; nor does he think any one regular Species of Government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *Schools* have all of them their several Perfections, and are subject to their several Depravations. However, few States are Ruined by any Defect in their Institution, but generally by the Corruption of Manners, against which the Institution is no longer Security, and without which a very ill one may subsist and flourish. Whereof there are two pregnant Instances now in *Europe*. The first is the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*, which, founded upon the wisest Maxims, and digested by a great Length of Time, hath in our Age admitted

so

ſo many Abuſes through the Degeneracy of the Nobles, that the Period of its Duration ſeems to approach. The other is the United Republicks of the *States-General*, where a Vein of Temperance, Induſtry, Parſimony, and a Publick Spirit, running through the whole Body of the People, hath preſerved an Infant Commonwealth of an untimely Birth and ſickly Conſtitution, for above an Hundred Years, through ſo many Dangers and Difficulties, as a much more Healthy one could never have ſtruggled againſt without thoſe Advantages.

WHERE Security of Perſon and Property are preſerved by Laws which none but the *Whole* can repeal, there the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Adminiſtration be in the Hands of *One* or of *Many*. Where any one *Perſon* or *Body* of Men, who do not repreſent the *Whole*, ſeize into their Hands the Power in the laſt Reſort, there is properly no longer a Government, but what *Ariſtotle* and his Followers call the *Abuſe* and *Corruption* of one.

This

This Distinction excludes Arbitrary Power in whatever Numbers; which notwithstanding all that *Hobbs*, *Filmer* and others have said to its Advantage, I look upon as a greater Evil than *Anarchy* it self; as much as *Savidge* is a happier state of Life than a *Slave* at the Oar.

IT is reckoned ill Manners as well as Unreasonable for Men to quarrel upon Difference in Opinion; because that is usually supposed to be a Thing which no Man can help in himself; which however I do not conceive to be an universal infallible Maxim, except in those Cases where the Question is pretty equally disputed among the Learned and the Wise: Where it is otherwise, a Man of tolerable Reason, small Experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong Opinion, though the whole Course of his Mind and Inclination would persuade him to believe it true; He may be convinced that he is in an Error though he does not see where it lies, by the bad Effects of it in the common Conduct of his Life,

Life, and by observing those Persons for whose Wisdom and Goodness he has the greatest Deference to be of a contrary Sentiment. According to *Hobbs*'s Comparison of *Reasoning* with *casting up Accounts*, whoever finds a Mistake in the *Sum total*, must allow himself out, though after repeated Tryals he may not see in which Article he has misreckoned. I will instance in one Opinion, which I look upon every Man obliged in Conscience to quit, or in Prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in Defence of absolute Power in a single Person, though he offers the old plausible Plea, that *it is his Opinion, which he cannot help unless he be convinced*, ought in all free States to be treated as the common Enemy of Mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy Charge upon the *Clergy* of the two Reigns before the *Revolution*, who under the Terms of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, are said to have preach'd up the unlimited Power of the Prince, because they found it a Doctrine that pleased the Court, and made Way for their Preferment. And I believe there may be Truth

enough in this Accuſation, to convince us, that Human Frailty will too often interpoſe it ſelf among Perſons of the Holieſt Function. However, it may be offered in Excuſe for the Clergy, that in the beſt Societies there are ſome ill Members, which a corrupted Court and Miniſtry will induſtriouſly find out and introduce. Beſides, it is manifeſt that the greater Number of thoſe who held and preached this Doctrine, were miſguided by equivocal Terms, and by perfect Ignorance in the Principles of Government, which they had not made any Part of their Study. The Queſtion originally put, and as I remember to have heard it diſputed in Publick Schools, was this; *Whether under any Pretence whatſoever, it may be lawful to reſiſt the Supreme Magiſtrate?* which was held in the Negative; and this is certainly the right Opinion. But many of the Clergy and other Learned Men, deceived by a dubious Expreſſion, miſtook the *Object* to which *Paſſive Obedience* was due. By the *Supreme Magiſtrate* is properly underſtood the Legiſlative Power, which in all Government muſt be abſolute and

and unlimited. But the Word *Magiſtrate* ſeeming to denote a *ſingle Perſon*, and to expreſs the *Executive* Power, it came to paſs, that the Obedience due to the *Legiſlature* was for want of knowing or conſidering this eaſy Diſtinction, miſapplied to the *Adminiſtration*. Neither is it any Wonder, that the Clergy or other well-meaning People ſhould fall into this Error, which deceived *Hobbes* himſelf ſo far, as to be the Foundation of all the Political Miſtakes in his Book, where he perpetually confounds the *Executive* with the *Legiſlative* Power, though all well-inſtituted States have ever placed them in different Hands, as may be obvious to thoſe who know any thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and other Republicks of *Greece*, as well as the greater ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

BESIDES, it is to be conſidered, that when theſe Doctrines began to be Preached among us, the Kingdom had not quite worn out the Memory of that unhappy *Rebellion*, under the Conſequences of which it had groaned

almoſt Twenty Years. And a *weak Prince* in Conjunction with a Succeſſion of moſt proſtitute Miniſters, began again to diſpoſe the People to new Attempts, which it was, no doubt, the Clergy's Duty to endeavour to prevent, if ſome of them had not for want of Knowledge in Temporal Affairs, and others perhaps from a worſe Principle, proceeded upon a Topick that ſtrictly followed would enſlave all Mankind.

AMONG other Theological Arguments made uſe of in thoſe Times in Praiſe of Monarchy, and Juſtification of abſolute Obedience to a Prince, there ſeemed to be one of a ſingular Nature; It was urged that *Heaven* was governed by a *Monarch*, who had none to controul his Power, but was abſolutely obeyed: Then it followed, that Earthly Governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated that in Heaven. All which I look upon as the ſtrongeſt Argument againſt *Deſpotick* Power that ever was offered; Since no Reaſon can poſſibly be aſſigned why it is beſt for the World that God

God Almighty hath such a Power, which doth not directly prove that no Mortal Man should ever have the like.

BUT though a *Church of England* Man thinks every Species of Government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient*; or for every Country indifferently. There may be something in the Climate, naturally disposing Men towards one Sort of Obedience, as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any Commonwealth, except some small ones on the Western Coasts, established by the *Greeks*. There may be a great deal in the Situation of a Country, and in the present *Genius* of the People. It hath been observed, that the temperate Climates usually run into moderate Governments, and the Extreams into Despotick Power. 'Tis a Remark of *Hobbes*, that the Youth of *England* are corrupted in their Principles of Government, by reading the Authors of *Greece* and *Rome* who writ under Commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the Ho-

nour of Liberty, that while the reſt of the known World was over-run with the Arbitrary Government of ſingle Perſons; *Arts* and *Sciences* took their Riſe, and flouriſhed only in thoſe few ſmall Territories where the People were *free*. And though *Learning* may continue after *Liberty* is loſt, as it did in *Rome*, for a while, upon the Foundations laid under the Commonwealth, and the particular Patronage of ſome Emperors; yet it hardly ever began under a *Tyranny* in any Nation. Becauſe *Slavery* is of all Things the greateſt Clog and Obſtacle to *Speculation*. And indeed, Arbitrary Power is but the firſt natural Step from *Anarchy* or the *Savage Life*; the adjuſting *Power* and *Freedom* being an Effect and Conſequence of maturer Thinking: And this is no where ſo duly regulated as in a limited Monarchy: Becauſe I believe it may paſs for a Maxim in State, that *the Adminiſtration cannot be placed in too* few *Hands*, nor the *Legiſlature in too* many. Now in this material Point, the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government far exceeds all others at this time

time on the Earth, to which the present Eſtabliſhment of the *Church* doth ſo happily agree, that I think, whoever is an Enemy to *either*, muſt of Neceſſity be ſo to *both*.

HE thinks, as our Monarchy is conſtituted, a Hereditary Right is much to be preferred before *Election*. Becauſe the Government here, eſpecially by ſome late Amendments, is ſo regularly diſpoſed in all its Parts, that it almoſt *executes* it ſelf. And therefore upon the Death of a Prince among us, the Adminiſtration goes on without any Rub or Interruption. For the ſame Reaſons we have little to apprehend from the *Weakneſs* or *Fury* of our Monarchs, who have ſuch Wiſe Councils to guide the firſt, and Laws to reſtrain the other. And therefore this Hereditary Right ſhould be kept ſo ſacred, as never to break the Succeſſion, unleſs where the preſerving it may endanger the Conſtitution; Which is not from any intrinſick Merit, or unalienable Right in a *particular Family*; but to avoid the Conſequences that uſually attend the

Ambition of Competitors, to which Elective Kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only Obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest Perfection that Government can possibly reach. Hence appears the Absurdity of that Distinction between a King *de facto* and one *de jure*, with respect to Us. For every *limited* Monarch is a King *de jure*, because he Governs by the Consent of the *whole*, which is Authority sufficient to abolish all precedent Right. If a King comes in by *Conquest*, he is no longer a *limited* Monarch; if he afterwards consents to Limitations, he becomes immediately King *de jure* for the same Reason.

THE great Advocates for *Succession*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any Regard or Consideration whatsoever, do insist much upon one Argument that seems to carry little Weight. They would have it, that a *Crown* is a Prince's Birthright, and ought at least to be as well secured to him and his Posterity as the Inheritance of any private Man; in short,

ſhort, that he has the ſame Title to his Kingdom which every Individual has to his Property: Now the Conſequence of this Doctrine muſt be, that as a Man may find ſeveral Ways to waſte, miſpend, or abuſe his Patrimony, without being anſwerable to the Laws; ſo a King may in like Manner do what he will with *his own*, that is, he may ſquander and miſapply his Revenues, and even alienate the Crown, without being called to an Account by his Subjects. They allow ſuch a Prince to be guilty indeed of much Folly and Wickedneſs, but for thoſe he is to *anſwer to God*, as every private Man muſt do that is guilty of Miſmanagement in his own Concerns. Now the Folly of this Reaſoning will beſt appear, by applying it in a parallel Caſe: Should any Man argue, that a Phyſician is ſuppoſed to underſtand his own Art beſt; that the Law protects and encourages his Profeſſion; And therefore although he ſhould manifeſtly preſcribe *Poiſon* to all his Patients, whereof they ſhould immediately die, he cannot be juſtly puniſhed, but is anſwerable only to God,

Or ſhould the ſame be offered in behalf of a Divine, who would preach againſt Religion and Moral Duties; In either of theſe two Caſes, every body would find out the Sophiſtry; and preſently anſwer, That although common Men are not exactly skilled in the Compoſition or Application of Medicines, or in preſcribing the Limits of Duty; yet the Difference between *Poiſons* and *Remedies* is eaſily known by their Effects, and common Reaſon ſoon diſtinguiſhes between *Virtue* and *Vice*; And it muſt be neceſſary to forbid both theſe the further Practice of their Profeſſions, becauſe their Crimes are not purely Perſonal to the Phyſician or the Divine, but deſtructive to the Publick. All which is infinitely ſtronger in reſpect to a Prince, with whoſe good or ill Conduct the Happineſs or Miſery of a whole Nation is included; whereas it is of ſmall Conſequence to the Publick, farther than Examples, how any private Perſon manages his Property.

BUT

BUT granting that the Right of a Lineal Succeſſor to a Crown were upon the ſame Foot with the Property of a Subject, ſtill it may at any time be transferred by the Legiſlative Power, as other Properties frequently are. The Supreme Power in a State can *do no wrong*, becauſe whatever that doth, is the Action of all; And when the *Lawyers* apply this Maxim to the *King*, they muſt underſtand it only in that Senſe as he is Adminiſtrator of the Supreme Power, otherwiſe it is not univerſally true, but may be controuled in ſeveral Inſtances eaſy to produce.

AND theſe are the Topicks we muſt proceed upon to juſtify our Excluſion of the young *Pretender* in *France*; that of his ſuſpected Birth being meerly Popular, and therefore not made uſe of, as I remember, ſince the Revolution, in any Speech, Vote, or Proclamation where there was Occaſion to mention him.

AS

AS to the *Abdication* of King *James*, which the Advocates on that side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in it self, I think a Man may observe every Article of the *English* Church, without being in much Pain about it. 'Tis not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps not without the Privity of the Prince of *Orange*, as reasonably concluding that the Kingdom might better be settled in his Absence; But to affirm he had any Cause to apprehend the same Treatment with his *Father*, is an improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few bigotted *French* Scribblers, or the invidious Assertion of a ruined Party at home, in the Bitterness of their Souls. Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for that ignominious *Murder*: But whether his Removal were caused by his own *Fears* or other Men *Artifices*, 'tis manifest to me, that supposing the Throne to be Vacant, which was the Foot they went upon, the

the Body of the People was thereupon left at liberty, to chuſe what Form of Government they pleaſed, by themſelves or their Repreſentatives.

THE only Difficulty of any weight againſt the Proceedings at the Revolution, is an obvious Objection, to which the Writers upon that Subject have yet not given a direct or ſufficient Anſwer, as if they were in pain at ſome Conſequences which they apprehended thoſe of the contrary Opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this Objection as it was offered me ſome time ago, with all its Advantages, by a very Pious, Learned, and Worthy Gentleman of the Non-juring Party.

THE Force of his Argument turned upon this; That the Laws made by the Supreme Power, cannot otherwiſe than by the Supreme Power be annulled: That this conſiſting in *England* of a King, Lords and Commons, whereof each have a Negative Voice, no two of them can repeal or enact a Law without conſent of the third; much

much leſs may any one of them be entirely excluded from its Part of the Legiſlature by a *Vote* of the other two. That all theſe Maxims were openly violated at the Revolution; where an Aſſembly of the *Nobles* and *People* not Summoned by the King's Writ (which was then an eſſential Part of the Conſtitution) and conſequently no lawful Meeting, did meerly upon their own Authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the Throne vacant, and gave the Crown by a Vote to a *Nephew*, when there were three Children to Inherit, though by the fundamental Laws of the Realm the next Heir is immediately to Succeed. Neither doth it appear how a Prince's *Abdication* can make any other ſort of Vacancy in the Throne, than would be cauſed by his Death, ſince he cannot Abdicate for his Children (who claim their Right of Succeſſion by Act of Parliament) otherwiſe than by his own Conſent in form to a Bill from the two Houſes.

AND

AND this is the Difficulty that ſeems chiefly to ſtick with the moſt reaſonable of thoſe, who from a meer Scruple of Conſcience refuſe to join with us upon the Revolution-Principle; but for the reſt, are I believe as far from loving Arbitrary Government, as any others can be, who are born under a free Conſtitution, and are allowed to have the leaſt ſhare of common good Senſe.

IN this Objection there are two Queſtions included; Firſt, Whether upon the foot of our Conſtitution as it ſtood in the Reign of the late King *James*; a King of *England* may be depoſed? The Second is, whether the People of *England* convened by their own Authority, after the King had withdrawn himſelf in the manner he did, had Power to alter the Succeſſion?

AS for the Firſt; It is a Point I ſhall not preſume to determine, and ſhall therefore only ſay, that to any Man who holds the Negative, I would demand

demand the Liberty of putting the Case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a Prince limited by Laws like ours, yet running into a thousand Caprices of Cruelty like *Nero* or *Caligula*. I will suppose him to Murder his Mother and his Wife, to commit incest, to Ravish Matrons, to blow up the Senate, and Burn his Metropolis, Openly to renounce God and Christ, and Worship the Devil. These and the like Exorbitancies are in the Power of a Single Person to commit without the Advice of a Ministry, or Assistance of an Army. And if such a King as I have described, cannot be Deposed but by his own Consent in Parliament; I do not well see how he can be *resisted*, or what can be meant by a *limited* Monarchy; Or what signifies the Peoples Consent in making and repealing Laws, if the Person who administers hath no Tye but Conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger Proof that an Opinion must be false, than to find very great Absurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the present Case; For it is not a bare

bare Speculation that Kings may run into ſuch Enormities as are abovemention'd; the Practice may be proved by Examples not only drawn from the firſt *Cæſars* or later Emperors, but many modern Princes of *Europe*; ſuch as *Peter* the Cruel, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, *John Baſilowits* of *Muſcovy*, and in our own Nation, King *John*, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Eighth. But there cannot be equal Abſurdities ſuppoſed in maintaining the contrary Opinion, becauſe it is certain that Princes have it in their Power to keep a Majority on their Side by any tolerable Adminiſtration, till provoked by continual Oppreſſions; no Man indeed can then anſwer where the Madneſs of the People will ſtop.

AS to the ſecond Part of the Objection; Whether the People of *England* convened by their own Authority, upon King *James*'s precipitate Departure, had Power to alter the Succeſſion?

IN Anſwer to this, I think it is manifeſt from the Practice of the Wi-

beſt Nations, and who ſeem to have had the trueſt Notions of Freedom, that when a Prince was laid aſide for Male adminiſtration, the *Nobles* and *People*, if they thought it neceſſary for the Publick Weal, did reſume the Adminiſtration of the Supreme Power (the Power it ſelf having been always in them) and did not only alter the Succeſſion, but often the very Form of Government too; Becauſe they believed there was no natural Right in one Man to Govern another, but that all was by Inſtitution, Force, or Conſent. Thus, the Cities of *Greece*, when they drove out their Tyrannical Kings, either choſe others from a new Family, or aboliſhed the Kingly Government, and became Free States. Thus the *Romans*, upon the Expulſion of *Tarquin*, found it was inconvenient for them to be ſubject any longer to the Pride, the Luſt, the Cruelty and Arbitrary Will of ſingle Perſons, and therefore by general Conſent entirely altered the whole Frame of their Government. Nor do I find the Proceedings of either, in this Point, to have been condemned

ned by any Hiſtorian of the ſucceeding Ages.

BUT a great deal hath been already ſaid by other Writers upon this invidious and beaten Subject; therefore I ſhall let it fall, tho' the Point is commonly miſtaken, eſpecially by the *Lawyers*; who of all others ſeem leaſt to underſtand the Nature of Government in general; like Underworkmen, who are expert enough at making a ſingle Wheel in a Clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjuſt the ſeveral Parts, or regulate the Movement.

TO return therefore from this Digreſſion; It is a *Church of England* Man's Opinion, That the Freedom of a Nation conſiſts in an abſolute *Unlimited Legiſlative* Power, wherein the whole Body of the People are fairly repreſented, and in an *Executive* Duly *limited*; becauſe on this Side likewiſe there may be dangerons Degrees, and a very ill Extream. For when two Parties in a State are pretty equal in *Power*, *Pretenſions*, *Merit*,

*Merit*, and *Virtue*, (for theſe two laſt are, with relation to Parties and a Court, quite different Things) it hath been the Opinion of the beſt Writers upon Government, that a Prince ought not in any Sort to be under the Guidance or Influence of either, becauſe he declines by this Means from his Office of preſiding over the *whole*, to be the Head of a *Party*; which beſides the Indignity, renders him anſwerable for all Publick Miſmanagements, and the Conſequences of them; And in whatever State this happens, there muſt either be a Weakneſs in the Prince or Miniſtry, or elſe the former is too much reſtrained by the Legiſlature.

TO conclude; A *Church of England* Man may with Prudence and a good Conſcience approve the profeſſed Principles of one Party more than the other, according as he thinks they beſt promote the Good of Church and State; but he will never be ſway'd by Paſſion or Intereſt to advance an Opinion meerly becauſe it is *That* of the Party he moſt approves; which one

one ſingle Principle he looks upon as the Root of all our Civil Animoſities. To enter into a Party as into an Order of *Fryars* with ſo reſigned an Obedience to Superiors, is very unſuitable both with the Civil and Religious Liberties, we ſo zealouſly aſſert. Thus the Underſtandings of a whole Senate are often enſlaved by three or four Leaders on each Side, who inſtead of intending the Publick Weal, have their Hearts wholly ſet upon Ways and Means how to get or to keep Employments. But to ſpeak more at large, how has this Spirit of Faction mingled it ſelf in with the Maſs of the People, changed their Natures and Manners, and the very Genius of the Nation; broke all the Laws of Charity, Neighbourhood, Alliance and Hoſpitality, deſtroy'd all Ties of Friendſhip, and divided Families againſt themſelves? And no wonder it ſhould be ſo, when in order to find out the Character of a Perſon, inſtead of enquiring whether he be a Man of Virtue, Honour, Piety, Wit, good Senſe, or Learning; the modern Queſtion is only whether he be

a *Whig* or a *Tory*, under which Terms all good and ill Qualities are included.

NOW, becauſe it is a Point of Difficulty to chuſe an exact Middle between two ill Extreams, it may be worth enquiring in the preſent Caſe, which of theſe a wiſe and good Man would rather ſeem to avoid: Taking therefore their own good and ill Characters with due Abatements and Allowances for Partiality and Paſſion, I ſhould think that in order to preſerve the Conſtitution entire in Church and State, whoever has a true Value for both, would be ſure to avoid the Extreams of *Whig* for the Sake of the former, and the Extreams of *Tory* on account of the latter.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient upon ſo nice a Subject, and find I have the Ambition common with other Reaſoners, to wiſh at leaſt that both Parties may think me *in the right*, which would be of ſome Uſe to thoſe who have any Virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the Extravagancies of either, upon falſe Repreſentations

tations, to ſerve the Ambition or Malice of deſigning Men without any Proſpect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next Wiſh ſhould be, that both might think me *in the Wrong*; which I would underſtand as an ample Juſtification of my ſelf, and a ſure Ground to believe that I have proceeded at leaſt with Impartiality, and perhaps with Truth.

*FINIS.*

# AN ARGUMENT

To prove that the

## *Aboliſhing of* CHRISTIANITY IN *ENGLAND*,

May, as Things now ſtand, be attended with ſome Inconveniences, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good Effects propoſed thereby.

Written in the Year 1708.

I AM very ſenſible what a Weakneſs and Preſumption it is, to reaſon againſt the general Humour and Diſpoſition of the World. I remember it was with great Juſtice, and a due regard to the Freedom both of

of the Publick and the Press, forbidden upon several Penalties to Write, or Discourse, or lay Wagers against the ——— even before it was confirmed by Parliament, because that was look'd upon as a Design, to oppose the Current of the People, which besides the Folly of it, is a manifest Breach of the Fundamental Law that makes this Majority of Opinion the Voice of God. In like Manner, and for the very same Reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity; at a Juncture when all Parties seem so unanimously determined upon the Point, as we cannot but allow from their Actions, their Discourses, and their Writings. However, I know not how, whether from the Affectation of Singularity, or the Perverseness of Human Nature, but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this Opinion. Nay though I were sure an Order were issued out for my immediate Prosecution by the Attorney-General, I should still confess, that in the present Posture of our Affairs at home or abroad, I do

not yet ſee the abſolute Neceſſity of extirpating the Chriſtian Religion from among us.

THIS perhaps may appear too great a Paradox even for our wiſe and paradoxical Age to endure; therefore I ſhall handle it with all Tenderneſs, and with the utmoſt Deference to that great and profound Majority which is of another Sentiment.

AND yet the Curious may pleaſe to obſerve, how much the Genius of a Nation is liable to alter in half an Age. I have heard it affirmed for certain by ſome very old People, that the contrary Opinion was even in their Memories as much in Vogue as the other is now; and, that a Project for the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity would then have appeared as ſingular, and been thought as abſurd, as it would be at this time to write or diſcourſe in its Defence.

THEREFORE I freely own, that all Appearances are againſt me. The Syſtem of the Goſpel after the

Fate

Fate of other Systems is generally antiquated and exploded; and the Mass or Body of the common People, among whom it seems to have had its latest Credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their Betters. Opinions like Fashions always descending from those of Quality to the middle sort, and thence to the Vulgar, where at length they are dropt and vanish.

BUT here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a Distinction from the Writers on the other side, when they make a Difference betwixt Nominal and Real *Trinitarians*. I hope no Reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the Defence of Real Christianity, such as used in Primitive Times (if we may believe the Authors of those Ages) to have an Influence upon Mens Belief and Actions: To offer at the restoring of That would indeed be a wild Project; it would be to dig up Foundations, to destroy at one Blow all the Wit, and half the Learning of the Kingdom; to break the entire

tire Frame and Conſtitution of Things, to ruin Trade, extinguiſh Arts and Sciences with the Profeſſors of them; in ſhort, to turn our Courts, Exchanges, and Shops, into Deſarts; and would be full as abſurd as the Propoſal of *Horace*, where he adviſes the *Romans*, all in a Body, to leave their City, and ſeek a new Seat in ſome remote Part of the World, by way of a Cure for the Corruption of their Manners.

THEREFORE I think this Caution was in it ſelf altogether unneceſſary (which I have inſerted only to prevent all Poſſiiblity of Cavilling) ſince every candid Reader will eaſily underſtand my Diſcourſe to be intended only in Defence of Nominal Chriſtianity, the other having been for ſome time wholly laid aſide by general Conſent, as utterly inconſiſtent with all our preſent Schemes of Wealth and Power.

BUT why we ſhould therefore caſt off the Name and Title of Chriſtians, although the general Opinion and

and Resolution be so violent for it, I confess I cannot (with Submission) apprehend the Consequence necessary. However, since the Undertakers propose such wonderful Advantages to the Nation by this Project, and advance many plausible Objections against the Systems of Christianity, I shall briefly consider the Strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest Weight, and offer such Answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew what Inconveniences may possibly happen by such an Innovation, in the present Posture of our Affairs.

*First*, ONE great Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is, That it would very much enlarge and establish Liberty of Conscience, that great Bulwark of our Nation, and of the Protestant Religion, which is still too much limited by Priest-craft, notwithstanding all the good Intentions of the Legislature, as we have lately found by a severe Instance. For it is confidently reported, that two Young Gentlemen of real

Hopes,

Hopes, bright Wit, and profound Judgment, who upon a thorough Examination of Cauſes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the leaſt Tincture of Learning, having made a Diſcovery, that there was no God, and generouſly communicating their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick; were ſome time ago, by an unparallell'd Severity, and upon I know not what obſolete Law, broke for Blaſphemy. And as it hath been wiſely obſerved, if Perſecution once begins, no Man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

IN anſwer to all which, with Deference to wiſer Judgments, I think this rather ſhews the Neceſſity of a Nominal Religion among us. Great Wits love to be free with the higheſt Objects; and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will ſpeak Evil of Dignities, abuſe the Government, and reflect upon the Miniſtry, which I am ſure few will deny to be of much more pernicious Conſequence, according to the Saying of

of *Tiberius*, *Deorum Offenſa Diis curæ.* As to the particular Fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one Inſtance, perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the Comfort of all thoſe who may be apprehenſive of Perſecution) Blaſphemy we know is freely ſpoke a Million of times in every Coffee-Houſe and Tavern, or where-ever elſe good Company meet. It muſt be allowed indeed, that to Break an *Engliſh* Free-born Officer only for Blaſphemy, was, to ſpeak the gentleſt of ſuch an Action, a very high ſtrain of abſolute Power. Little can be ſaid in Excuſe for the General; Perhaps he was afraid it might give Offence to the Allies, among whom, for ought we know, it may be the Cuſtom of the Country to believe a God. But if he argued, as ſome have done, upon a miſtaken Principle, that an Officer who is guilty of ſpeaking Blaſphemy, may ſome time or other proceed ſo far as to raiſe a Mutiny, the Conſequence is by no means to be admitted; For, ſurely, the Commander of an *Engliſh* Army is like to be but ill obey'd, whoſe Soldiers fear and

and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

IT is further objected againſt the Goſpel Syſtem, that it obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for Free Thinkers, and ſuch who have ſhook off the Prejudices that uſually cling to a confin'd Education. To which I anſwer, that Men ſhould be cautious how they raiſe Objections which reflect upon the Wiſdom of the Nation. Is not every Body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaſes, and to publiſh his Belief to the World whenever he thinks fit, eſpecially if it ſerves to ſtrengthen the Party which is in the Right? Would any indifferent Foreigner, who ſhould read the Trumpery lately written by *Aſgill*, *Tindall*, *Toland*, *Coward*, and Forty more, imagine the Goſpel to be our Rule of Faith, and to be confirmed by Parliaments? Does any Man either Believe, or ſay he believes, or deſire to have it thought that he ſays he Believes one Syllable of the Matter? and is any Man worſe received upon that Score, or does he find his want of Nominal

Nominal Faith a Disadvantage to him in the Pursuit of any Civil or Military Employment? What if there be an old dormant Statute or two against him, are they not now obsolete, to a degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley* themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in Execution.

IT is likewise urged, that there are, by Computation, in this Kingdom, above Ten thousand Parsons, whose Revenues added to those of my Lords the Bishops, would suffice to maintain at least Two Hundred Young Gentlemen of Wit and Pleasure, and Free-thinking, Enemies to Priest-craft, narrow Principles, Pedantry, and Prejudices, who might be an Ornament to the Court and Town: And then, again, so great a Number of able [bodied] Divines might be a Recruit to our Fleet and Armies. This indeed appears to be a Consideration of some Weight: But then, on the other side, several Things deserve to be considered likewise: As, First, Whether it may not be thought ne-

ceſſary that in certain Tracts of Country, like what we call Pariſhes, there ſhould be one Man at leaſt, of Abilities, to Read and Write. Then it ſeems a wrong Computation, that the Revenues of the Church throughout this Iſland would be large enough to maintain Two hundred Young Gentlemen, or even half that Number, after the preſent refined way of Living, that is, to allow each of them ſuch a Rent, as in the modern Form of Speech, would make them Eaſy. But ſtill there is in this Project a greater Miſchief behind; And we ought to beware of the Woman's Folly, who killed the Hen that every Morning laid her a Golden Egg. For, pray what would become of the Race of Men in the next Age, if we had nothing to truſt to beſides the Scrophulous conſumptive Production furniſhed by our Men of Wit and Pleaſure, when having ſquandered away their Vigor, Health and Eſtates, they are forced by ſome diſagreeable Marriage to piece up their broken Fortunes, and entail Rottenneſs and Politeneſs on their Poſterity? Now,

here are Ten thousand Persons reduced by the wise Regulations of *Henry* the Eighth, to the Necessity of a low Dyet, and moderate Exercise, who are the only great Restorers of our Breed; without which the Nation would in an Age or two become but one great Hospital.

ANOTHER Advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is the clear Gain of one Day in Seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the Kingdom one Seventh less considerable in Trade, Business, and Pleasure; beside the Loss to the Publick of so many Stately Structures now in the Hands of the Clergy, which might be converted into Play-houses, Exchanges, Market-houses, common Dormitories, and other Publick Edifices.

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard Word if I call this a perfect Cavil. I readily own there hath been an old Custom time out of mind, for People to assemble in the Churches every *Sunday*, and that Shops are still frequently shut,

in order, as it is conceived, to preſerve the Memory of that antient Practice; but how this can prove a Hindrance to Buſineſs or Pleaſure, is hard to imagine. What if the Men of Pleaſure are forced one Day in the Week to Game at Home inſtead of the *Chocolate-Houſe*? are not the *Taverns* and *Coffee-Houſes* open? Can there be a more convenient Seaſon for taking a Doſe of Phyſick? Are fewer Claps got upon *Sundays* than other Days? Is not that the chief Day for Traders to Sum up the Accounts of the Week, and for Lawyers to prepare their Briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended, that the Churches are miſapplied. Where are more Appointments and Rendezvouzes of Gallantry? Where more Care to appear in the foremoſt Box with greater Advantage of Dreſs? Where more Meetings for Buſineſs? Where more Bargains driven of all Sorts? and, Where ſo many Conveniences or Incitements to Sleep?

THERE is one Advantage greater than any of the foregoing, propoſed

poſed by the Aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, that it will utterly extinguiſh Parties among us, by removing thoſe Factious Diſtinctions of High and Low Church, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Presbyterian* and *Church of England*, which are now ſo many mutual Clogs upon Publick Proceedings, and are apt to prefer the gratifying themſelves or depreſſing their Adverſaries, before the moſt important Intereſt of the State.

I confeſs, if it were certain that ſo great an Advantage would redound to the Nation by this expedient, I would ſubmit and be ſilent: But, will any Man ſay, that if the Words *Whoring*, *Drinking*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Stealing*, were by Act of Parliament ejected out of the *Engliſh* Tongue and Dictionaries, we ſhould all awake next Morning Chaſte and Temperate, Honeſt and Juſt, and Lovers of Truth. Is this a fair Conſequence? Or if the Phyſicians would forbid us to pronounce the Words *Pox*, *Gout*, *Rheumatiſm*, and *Stone*, would that Expedient ſerve like ſo many *Taliſmans* to

deſtroy the Diſeaſes themſelves. Are Party and Faction rooted in Mens Hearts no deeper than Phraſes borrowed from Religion, or founded upon no firmer Principles? And is our Language ſo poor that we cannot find other Terms to expreſs them? Are Envy, Pride, Avarice and Ambition ſuch ill Nomenclators, that they cannot furniſh Appellations for their Owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarins* and *Patſhaws*, or any other Words formed at Pleaſure, ſerve to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are in the Miniſtry from others who would be in it if they could? What, for inſtance, is eaſier than to vary the Form of Speech, and inſtead of the Word, Church, make it a Queſtion in Politicks, Whether the Monument be in Danger? Becauſe Religion was neareſt at hand to furniſh a few convenient Phraſes, is our Invention ſo barren, we can find no others? Suppoſe for Argument Sake, that the *Tories* favoured *Margarita*, the *Whigs* Mrs. *Tofts*, and the *Trimmers Valentini*, would not *Margaritians*, *Toftians* and *Valentinians* be very tolerable

Marks

Marks of Distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, two most virulent Factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a Distinction of Colours in Ribbans, which we might do with as good a Grace about the Dignity of the *Blue* and the *Green*, and serve as properly to divide the Court, the Parliament, and the Kingdom between them, as any Terms of Art whatsoever, borrowed from Religion. And therefore I think there is little Force in this Objection against Christianity, or Prospect of so great an Advantage as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

'TIS again objected as a very absurd ridiculous Custom, that a Set of Men should be suffered, much less employed and hired, to bawl one Day in Seven against the Lawfulness of those Methods most in use towards the Pursuit of Greatness, Riches, and Pleasure, which are the constant Practice of all Men alive on the other Six. But this Objection is, I think, a little unworthy so refined an Age as ours. Let us argue this Matter

calmly; I appeal to the Breaſt of any polite Free Thinker, whether in the Purſuit of gratifying a predominant Paſſion he hath not always felt a wonderful Incitement, by reflecting it was a Thing forbidden: And therefore we ſee, in order to cultivate this Teſt, the Wiſdom of the Nation hath taken ſpecial Care, that the Ladies ſhould be furniſhed with Prohibited Silks, and the Men with Prohibited Wine: And indeed it were to be wiſh'd, that ſome other Prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the Pleaſures of the Town, which for Want of ſuch Expedients begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving Way daily to cruel Inroads from the Spleen.

'Tis likewiſe propoſed as a great Advantage to the Publick, that if we once diſcard the Syſtem of the Goſpel, all Religion will of Courſe be baniſhed for ever, and conſequently along with it, thoſe grievous Prejudices of Education, which under the Names of Virtue, Conſcience, Honour, Juſtice, and the like, are ſo apt to diſturb

ſturb the Peace of human Minds, and the Notions whereof are ſo hard to be eradicated by Right Reaſon or Free Thinking, ſometimes during the whole Courſe of our Lives.

HERE firſt I obſerve how difficult it is to get rid of a Phraſe which the World is once grown fond of; though the Occaſion that firſt produced it, be entirely taken away. For ſome Years paſt, if a Man had but an ill-favoured Noſe, the deep Thinkers of the Age would ſome Way or other contrive to impute the Cauſe to the Prejudice of his Education. From this Fountain were ſaid to be derived all our fooliſh Notions of Juſtice, Piety, Love of our Country, all our Opinions of God or a Future State, Heaven, Hell, and the like: And there might formerly perhaps have been ſome pretence for this Charge. But ſo effectual Care hath been ſince taken to remove thoſe Prejudices, by an entire Change in the Methods of Education, that (with Honour I mention it to our Polite Innovators) the Young Gentlemen who are now on

the Scene ſeem to have not the leaſt Tincture left of thoſe Infuſions, or String of thoſe Weeds, and by Conſequence the Reaſon for aboliſhing Nominal Chriſtianity upon that Pretext, is wholly ceas'd.

FOR the reſt, it may perhaps admit a Controverſy, whether the baniſhing all Notions of Religion whatſoever, would be convenient for the Vulgar. Not that I am in the leaſt of Opinion with thoſe who hold Religion to have been the Invention of Politicians, to keep the lower Part of the World in Awe by the Fear of Inviſible Powers; unleſs Mankind were then very different from what it is now: For I look upon the Maſs or Body of our People here in *England*, to be as Free Thinkers, that is to ſay, as ſtanch Unbelievers, as any of the higheſt Rank. But I conceive ſome ſcattered Notions about a Superior Power to be of ſingular Uſe for the Common People, as furniſhing excellent Materials to keep Children quiet when they grow peeviſh, and

providing Topicks of Amusement in a tedious Winter Night.

LASTLY, 'Tis proposed as a singular Advantage, that the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the Terms of Communion so as to take in all sorts of *Dissenters*, who are now shut out of the Pale upon Account of a few Ceremonies which all Sides confess to be Things indifferent: That this alone will effectually answer the great Ends of a Scheme for Comprehension, by opening a large noble Gate, at which all Bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *Dissenters*, and dodging about this or t'other Ceremony, is but like opening a few Wickets, and leaving them at Jarr, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that, not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his Body.

TO all this I answer, That there is one darling Inclination of Mankind, which usually affects to be a Retainer

Retainer to Religion, though she be neither its Parent, its Godmother, nor its Friend; I mean the Spirit of Opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the Opposition of Sectaries among us consists; we shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. Does the Gospel any where prescribe a starch'd squeezed Countenance, a stiff formal Gate, a Singularity of Manners and Habit, or any affected Forms and Modes of Speech different from the reasonable Part of Mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its Name, to stand in the Gap, and to employ or divert these Humours, they must of Necessity be spent in Contraventions to the Laws of the Land, and Disturbance of the Publick Peace. There is a Portion of Enthusiasm assigned to every Nation, which if it hath not proper Objects to work on, will burst out, and set all into a Flame. If the Quiet of a State can be bought by only flinging Men a few Ceremonies to devour, it is a Purchase no Wise Man would refuse,

refuse. Let the Mastiffs amuse themselves about a Sheep-skin stuff'd with Hay, provided it will keep them from Worrying the Flock. The Institution of Convents abroad, seems in one Point a Strain of great Wisdom, there being few Irregularities in humane Passions, which may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those Orders, which are so many Retreats for the Speculative, the Melancholy, the Proud, the Silent, the Politick and the Morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the Noxious Particles; for each of whom we in this Island are forced to provide a several Sect of Religion, to keep them Quiet; and whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the Legislature must find some other Expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a Gate you open, if there will be always left a Number who place a Pride and a Merit in not coming in.

HAVING thus consider'd the most important Objections against Christianity, and the chief Advantages

tages propoſed by the Aboliſhing thereof; I ſhall now with equal Deference and Submiſſion to wiſer Judgments as before, proceed to mention a few Inconveniences that may happen, if the Goſpel ſhould be repealed; which perhaps the Projectors may not have ſufficiently conſidered.

AND firſt, I am very ſenſible how much the Gentlemen of Wit and Pleaſure are apt to murmur, and be choqued at the ſight of ſo many daggled-tail Parſons, that happen to fall in their way, and offend their Eyes; but at the ſame time theſe wiſe Reformers do not conſider what an Advantage and Felicity it is, for great Wits to be always provided with Objects of Scorn and Contempt, in order to exerciſe and improve their Talents, and divert their Spleen from falling on each other, or on themſelves, eſpecially when all this may be done without the leaſt imaginable Danger to their Perſons.

AND to urge another Argument of a parallel Nature. If Chriſtianity were

were once aboliſhed, how could the Free Thinkers, the Strong Reaſoners, and the Men of profound Learning, be able to find another Subject ſo calculated in all Points whereon to diſplay their Abilities. What wonderful Productions of Wit ſhould we be deprived of, from thoſe whoſe Genius by continual Practice hath been wholly turn'd upon Raillery and Invectives againſt Religion, and would therefore never be able to ſhine or diſtinguiſh themſelves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great decline of Wit among us, and would we take away the greateſt, perhaps the only Topick we have left? Who would ever have ſuſpected *Aſgill* for a Wit, or *Toland* for a Philoſopher, if the inexhauſtible Stock of Chriſtianity had not been at hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art of Nature could have produced *Tindall* for a profound Author, or furniſhed him with Readers? It is the wiſe Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and diſtinguiſhes the Writer. For, had a Hundred ſuch

Pens

Pens as these been employed on the Side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.

NOR do I think it wholly groundless, or my Fears altogether imaginary, that the Abolishing of Christianity may perhaps bring the Church in Danger, or at least put the Senate to the Trouble of another Securing Vote. I desire I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm or think that the Church is in Danger at present, or as Things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian Religion is repealed. As plausible as this Project seems, there may a dangerous Design lurk under it; Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Athiests*, *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, and other Subdivisions of Free Thinkers, are Persons of little Zeal for the present Ecclesiastical Establishment: Their declared Opinion is for repealing the Sacramental Test; they are very indifferent with regard to Ceremonies; nor do

they hold the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore they may be intended as one Politick Step towards altering the Constitution of the Church Established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead, which I leave to be further considered by those at the Helm.

IN the last Place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that by this Expedient, we shall run into the Evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the Abolishment of the *Christian* Religion, will be the readiest Course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because we know it has been the constant Practice of the *Jesuits* to send over Emissaries, with Instructions to personate themselves Members of the several prevailing Sects amongst us. So it is recorded, that they have at sundry Times appeared in the Guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in Credit; so, since the Fashion hath been taken up of exploding Religion, the *Popish* Missi-

Miſſionaries have not been wanting to mix with the Free-Thinkers; among whom, *Toland* the great Oracle of the *Anti-Chriſtians* is an *Iriſh* Prieſt, the Son of an *Iriſh* Prieſt; and the moſt learned and ingenious Author of a Book called the *Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, was in a proper Juncture reconciled to the *Romiſh* Faith, whoſe true Son, as appears by a hundred Paſſages in his Treatiſe, he ſtill continues. Perhaps I could add ſome others to the Number; but the Fact is beyond Diſpute, and the Reaſoning they proceed by is right: For ſuppoſing Chriſtianity to be extinguiſhed, the People will never be at Eaſe till they find out ſome other Method of Worſhip; which will as infallibly produce Superſtition, as this will end in *Popery*.

AND therefore, if notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, it ſtill be thought neceſſary to have a Bill brought in for repealing Chriſtianity; I would humbly offer an Amendment; that inſtead of the Word, Chriſtianity, may be put Religion in general, which

I con-

I conceive will much better answer all the good Ends proposed by the Projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being, a God and his Providence, with all the necessary Consequences which curious and inquisitive Men will be apt to draw from such Premisses, we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present Scheme of the Gospel; For, of what use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action, which is the sole End, how remote soever in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity; and therefore, the Free-Thinkers consider it as a sort of Edifice, wherein all the Parts have such a mutual Dependance on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single Nail, the whole Fabrick must fall to the Ground. This was happily expresst by him who had heard of a Text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; He thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long

Sorites, moſt Logically concluded? Why, if it be as you ſay, I may ſafely Whore and Drink on, and defy the Parſon. From which, and many the like Inſtances eaſy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifeſt, than that the Quarrel is not againſt any particular Points of hard digeſtion in the Chriſtian Syſtem, but againſt Religion in general, which by laying Reſtraints on human Nature, is ſuppoſed the great Enemy to the Freedom of Thought and Action.

UPON the whole, if it ſhall ſtill be thought for the Benefit of Church and State, that Chriſtianity be aboliſhed; I conceive however, it may be more convenient to defer the Execution to a Time of Peace, and not venture in this Conjuncture to diſoblige our Allies, who as it falls out, are all Chriſtians, and many of them, by the Prejudices of their Education ſo bigotted, as to place a ſort of Pride in the Appellation. If upon being rejected by them, we are to truſt to an Alliance with the *Turk*, we

ſhall find our ſelves much deceived: For, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in War with the *Perſian* Emperor, ſo his People would be more Scandalized at our Infidelity, than our Chriſtian Neighbours. For they are not only ſtrict Obſervers of Religious Worſhip; but what is worſe, believe a God, which is more than is required of us even while we preſerve the Name of Chriſtians.

TO conclude, Whatever ſome may think of the great Advantages to Trade by this favourite Scheme, I do very much apprehend, that in Six Months time after the Act is paſt for the Extirpation of the Goſpel, the Bank, and *Eaſt-India* Stock, may fall at leaſt One *per Cent.* And ſince that is Fifty times more than ever the Wiſdom of our Age thought fit to venture for the Preſervation of Chriſtianity, there is no Reaſon we ſhould be at ſo great a Loſs meerly for the ſake of deſtroying it.

A

# PROJECT

FOR THE

## *Advancement of Religion*,

AND THE

## Reformation of Manners.

By a Perſon of QUALITY.

Written in the Year 1709.

TO THE

## Counteſs of BERKLEY.

*Madam*,

MY Intention in prefixing Your Ladyſhip's Name, is not, after the Common Form, to deſire Your Protection of the following

ing Papers; which I take to be a very unreaſonable Requeſt; ſince by being inſcribed to your Ladyſhip, tho' without Your Knowledge, and from a concealed Hand, You cannot recommend them without ſome Suſpicion of Partiality. My real Deſign is, I confeſs, the very ſame I have often deteſted in moſt Dedications; That of Publiſhing Your Praiſes to the World. Not upon the Subject of Your noble Birth, for I know others as Noble; or of the Greatneſs of Your Fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful Race (the Images of their Parents) which calls you Mother: For even this may perhaps have been equall'd in ſome other Age or Country. Beſides, none of theſe Advantages do derive any Accompliſhments to the Owners, but ſerve at beſt only to adorn what they really poſſeſs. What I intend, is Your Piety, Truth, Good Senſe, and good Nature, Affability, and Charity; wherein I wiſh Your Ladiſhip had many Equals, or any Superiors; and I wiſh I could ſay I knew them too, for then Your Ladiſhip might have

had a Chance to escape this Address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary for the Interest of Virtue and Religion that the whole Kingdom should be informed in some Parts of your Character: For Instance; that the easiest and politest Conversation, joyn'd with the truest Piety, may be observed in Your Ladyship in as great Perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other Persons. That by your Prudence and Management under several Disadvantages, You have preserv'd the Lustre of that most noble Family into which You are grafted, and which the unmeasurable Profusion of Ancestors for many Generations had too much eclipsed. Then, how happily You perform every Office of Life to which Providence hath called You: in the Education of those two incomparable Daughters, whose Conduct is so universally admir'd; in every Duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate Wife; in that Care which descends to the meanest of your Domesticks; and lastly, in that Endless Bounty to the Poor, and Discretion where to distribute it.

I in-

I inſiſt on my Opinion, that it is of Importance for the Publick to know this and a great deal more of Your Ladyſhip; yet whoever goes about to inform them, ſhall inſtead of finding Credit, perhaps be cenſured for a Flatterer. To avoid ſo uſual a Reproach, I declare this to be no Dedication, but properly an Introduction to a Propoſal for the Advancement of Religion and Morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, ſome few Lineaments in the Character of a Lady, who hath ſpent all her Life in the Practice and Promotion of both.

AMONG all the Schemes offered to the Publick in this projecting Age, I have obſerved with ſome Diſpleaſure, that there have never been any for the Improvement of Religion and Morals: Which beſides the Piety of the Deſign from the Conſequences of ſuch a Reformation in a future Life, would be the beſt natural Means for advancing the Publick Felicity of the State, as well as the preſent Happineſs of every Individual. For, as much as Faith and Morality are decli-

ned among us, I am altogether confident, they might in a ſhort Time, and with no very great Trouble, be raiſed to as high a Perfection as Numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the Method is ſo eaſy and obvious, and ſome preſent Opportunities ſo good, that in order to have this Project reduced to Practice, there ſeems to want nothing more than to put thoſe in mind who by their Honour, Duty, and Intereſt are chiefly concerned.

BUT becauſe it is Idle to propoſe Remedies before we are aſſur'd of the Diſeaſe, or to be in Pain 'till we are convinced of the Danger; I ſhall firſt ſhew in general, that the Nation is extreamely corrupted in Religion and Morals; and then I will offer a ſhort Scheme for the Reformation of both.

AS to the Firſt; I know it is reckoned but a Form of Speech when Divines complain of the Wickedneſs of the Age: However, I believe, upon a fair Compariſon with other Times

Times and Countries, it would be found an undoubted Truth.

FOR First; To deliver nothing but plain Matter of Fact without Exaggeration or Satyr; I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that hardly one in a hundred among our People of Quality or Gentry, appears to act by any Principle of Religion; That great Numbers of them do entirely diſcard it, and are ready to own their Diſbelief of all Revelation in ordinary Diſcourſe. Nor is the Caſe much better among the Vulgar, eſpecially in great Towns, where the Prophaneneſs and Ignorance of Handicraftsmen, ſmall Traders, Servants, and the like, are to a Degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then, it is obſerved abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath ſo little Senſe of Religion as the *Engliſh* Soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that in the whole Compaſs of their Acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their Profeſſion, who ſeemed to regard or believe one Syllable of the

the Gospel: And the same at least may be affirmed of the Fleet. The Consequences of all which upon the Actions of Men are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former Times, to hide or palliate their Vices, but expose them freely to View like any other common Occurrences of Life, without the least Reproach from the World or themselves. For instance, any Man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this Evening, or was so last Night, with as little Ceremony or Scruple, as he would tell you the time of the Day. He will let you know he is going to a Whore, or that he has got a Clap, with as much Indifferency as he would a Piece of Publick News. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme without the least Passion or Provocation. And, though all Regard for Reputation is not quite laid aside in the other Sex, 'tis however at so low an Ebb, that very few among them seem to think Virtue and Conduct of absolute Necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it to pass, that Women of tainted Reputations find the

the ſame Countenance and Reception in all Publick Places, with thoſe of the niceſt Virtue, who pay, and receive Viſits from them without any Manner of Scruple; which Proceeding, as it is not very old among us, ſo I take it to be of moſt pernicious Conſequence: It looks like a Sort of compounding between Virtue and Vice, as if a Woman were allowed to be Vicious, provided ſhe be not profligate; as if there were a certain Point where Gallantry ends, and Infamy begins; or that a hundred Criminal Amours were not as pardonable as half a Score.

BESIDE thoſe Corruptions already mentioned, it would be Endleſs to enumerate ſuch as ariſe from the Exceſs of Play, or Gaming: The Cheats, the Quarrels, the Oaths and Blaſphemies among the Men; among the Women, the Neglect of Houſhould Affairs, the Unlimited Freedoms, the Undecent Paſſion; and laſtly, the known Inlet to all Lewdneſs, when after ill Run, the *Perſon* muſt anſwer the Defects of the *Purſe*;

*Purſe:* The Rule on ſuch Occaſions holding true in Play as it does in Law; *Quod non habet in Crumena, luat in Corpore.*

BUT all theſe are Trifles in Compariſon, if we ſtep into other Scenes, and conſider the Fraud and Cozenage of Trading-men and Shop-keepers; that inſatiable Gulph of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, the *Law.* The open Traffick of all Civil and Military Employments (I wiſh it reſted there) without the leaſt Regard to Merit or Qualifications: The corrupt Management of Men in Office; the many deteſtable Abuſes in chuſing thoſe who repreſent the People, with the Management of Intereſts and Factions among the Repreſentatives. To which I muſt be bold to add the Ignorance among ſome of the Lower Clergy; the mean ſervile Temper of others; the pert Pragmatical Demeanour of ſeveral young Stagers in Divinity, upon their firſt producing themſelves into the World; with many other Circumſtances needleſs, or rather invidious to mention; which falling

in with the Corruptions already related, have, however unjuſtly, almoſt render'd the whole Order contemptible.

THIS is a ſhort View of the general Depravities among us, without entring into particulars, which would be an endleſs Labour. Now, as univerſal and deep rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual Remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I at preſent upon a wild ſpeculative Project, but ſuch a one as may be eaſily put in Execution.

FOR, While the Prerogative of giving all Employments continues in the Crown, either immediately, or by Subordination; it is in the Power of the *Prince* to make Piety and Virtue become the Faſhion of the Age, if at the ſame time he would make them neceſſary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment.

IT is clear from preſent Experience, that the bare Example of the beſt

best Prince, will have any mighty Influence where the Age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better Prince on the Throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of her Talent for Government, Her Love of the People, or any other Qualities that are purely Regal; but her Piety, Charity, Temperance, Conjugal Love, and whatever other Virtues do best adorn a private Life; wherein without Question or Flattery, she hath no Superior: Yet neither will it be Satyr or peevish Invective to affirm, that Infidelity and Vice are not much diminished since Her coming to the Crown, nor will, in Probability, 'till some more effectual Remedies be provided.

THUS human Nature seems to lie under this Disadvantage, that the Example alone of a vicious Prince will in time corrupt an Age, but That of a good One will not be sufficient to reform it, without further Endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this Defect by a vigorous Exercise of that Authority which the Law has

has left them, by making it every Man's Intereſt and Honour to cultivate Religion and Virtue; by rendring Vice a Diſgrace, and the certain Ruin to Preferment or Pretenſions: All which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own Courts and Families. For inſtance; Might not the Queen's Domeſticks of the middle and lower Sort, be obliged upon Penalty of Suſpenſion or Loſs of their Employments, to a conſtant Weekly Attendance on the Service of the Church; to a decent Behaviour in it; to receive the Sacrament Four Times in the Year; to avoid Swearing and irreligious prophane Diſcourſes; and to the Appearance at leaſt, of Temperance and Chaſtity? Might not the Care of all this be committed to the ſtrict Inſpection of proper Officers? Might not thoſe of higher Rank and nearer Acceſs to Her Majeſty, receive Her own Commands to the ſame Purpoſe, and be countenanced or diſavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her Injunctions on the Biſhops, and other great Men of undoubted Piety, to make diligent Enquiry

quiry, and give Her Notice, if any Perſon about Her ſhould happen to be of Libertine Principles or Morals? Might not all thoſe who enter upon any Office in Her Majeſty's Family, be obliged to take an Oath parallel with That againſt Simony, which is adminiſtred to the Clergy? 'Tis not to be doubted, but that if theſe or the like Proceedings were duly obſerved, Morality and Religion would ſoon become faſhionable Court Virtues; and be taken up as the only Methods to get or keep Employments there; which alone would have mighty Influence upon many of the Nobilty, and principal Gentry.

BUT, If the like Methods were purſued as far as poſſible with regard to thoſe who are in the great Employments of the State, it is hard to conceive how general a Reformation it might in time produce among us. For, if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications neceſſary for Preferment; every Man thus endowed, when put into great Stations, would readily imitate the Queen's Example in

in the Diſtribution of all Offices in his Diſpoſal; eſpecially if any apparent Tranſgreſſion through Favour or Partiality, would be imputed to him for a Miſdemeanor, by which he muſt certainly forfeit his Favour and Station: And there being ſuch great Numbers in Employment, ſcatter'd through every Town and Country in this Kingdom; if all theſe were exemplary in the Conduct of their Lives, Things would ſoon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement: Nor would the publick Weal be leſs advanced; ſince, of Nine Offices in Ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Underſtanding, but in common Honeſty. I know no Employment for which Piety diſqualifies any Man; and if it did, I doubt, the Objection would not be very ſeaſonably offered at preſent: Becauſe, it is perhaps too juſt a Reflection, that in the Diſpoſal of Places, the Queſtion whether a Perſon be *fit* for what he is recommended, is very often the laſt that is thought on, or regarded.

I HAVE often imagined, that ſomething parallel to the Office of Cenſors anciently in *Rome*, would be of mighty Uſe among us, and could be eaſily limited from running into any Exorbitances. The *Romans* underſtood Liberty at leaſt as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every Occaſion as bold Aſſertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great Complaints of the Abuſes in that Office among them; but many admirable Effects of it are left upon Record. There are ſeveral pernicious Vices frequent and notorious among us, that eſcape or elude the Puniſhment of any Law we have yet invented, or have had no Law at all againſt them; ſuch as Atheiſm, Drunkenneſs, Fraud, Avarice, and ſeveral others, which by this Inſtitution wiſely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppoſe for Inſtance, that itinerary Commiſſioners were appointed to inſpect every where throughout the Kingdom into the Conduct (at leaſt) of Men in Office, with reſpect to their Morals and Religion as well as

their

their Abilities; To receive the Complaints and Informations that ſhould be offered againſt them, and make their Report here upon Oath, to the Court or the Miniſtry, who ſhould reward or puniſh accordingly. I avoid entring into the Particulars of this or any other Scheme, which coming from a private Hand, might be liable to many Defects, but would ſoon be digeſted by the Wiſdom of the Nation: And ſurely, Six thouſand Pounds a Year would not be ill laid out among as many Commiſſioners duly qualified, who in Three Diviſions ſhould be perſonally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that Purpoſe.

BUT this is beſide my preſent Deſign, which was only to ſhew what Degree of Reformation is in the Power of the Queen without Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, and which Her Majeſty is without Queſtion obliged in Conſcience to endeavour by Her Authority, as much as She does by Her Practice.

IT will be eaſily granted, that the Example of this great Town hath a mighty Influence over the whole Kingdom; and it is as manifeſt, that the Town is equally influenced by the Court and the Miniſtry, and thoſe who by their Employments or their Hopes depend upon them. Now, if under ſo excellent a Prince as the preſent Queen, we would ſuppoſe a Family ſtrictly regulated as I have above propoſed; a Miniſtry, where every ſingle Perſon was of diſtinguiſh'd Piety; if we ſhould ſuppoſe all great Offices of State and Law filled after the ſame Manner, and with ſuch as were equally diligent in chuſing Perſons who in their ſeveral Subordinations would be obliged to follow the Examples of their Superiors, under the Penalty of Loſs of Favour and Place; Will not every Body grant that the Empire of Vice, and Irreligion would be ſoon deſtroyed in this great Metropolis, and receive a terrible Blow through the whole Iſland, which hath ſo great an Intercourſe with it, and ſo much affects to follow its Faſhions?

FOR,

FOR, If Religion were once underſtood to be the neceſſary Step to Favour and Preferment; can it be imagined that any Man would openly offend againſt it, who had the leaſt Regard for his Reputation or his Fortune? There is no Quality ſo contrary to any Nature, which Men cannot affect and put on upon Occaſion, in order to ſerve an Intereſt, or gratify a prevailing Paſſion. The proudeſt Man will perſonate Humility, the moroſeſt learn to Flatter, the lazieſt will be Sedulous and Active, where he is in Purſuit of what he has much at Heart; How ready therefore would moſt Men be to ſtep into the Paths of Virtue and Piety, if they infallibly led to Favour and Fortune?

IF Swearing and Prophaneneſs, ſcandalous and avowed Lewdneſs, exceſſive Gaming and Intemperance, were a little diſcountenanced in the Army, I cannot readily ſee what ill Conſequences could be apprehended; if Gentlemen of that Profeſſion were at

leaſt obliged to ſome external Decorum in their Conduct; or even if a profligate Life and Character were not a means of Advancement, and the appearance of Piety a moſt infallible Hindrance, it is impoſſible the Corruptions there ſhould be ſo univerſal and exorbitant. I have been aſſured by ſeveral great Officers, that no Troops abroad are ſo ill diſciplined as the *Engliſh*, which cannot well be otherwiſe, while the common Soldiers have perpetually before their Eyes the vicious Example of their Leaders; and it is hardly poſſible for thoſe to commit any Crime, whereof theſe are not infinitely more guilty, and with leſs Temptation.

IT is commonly charged upon the Gentlemen of the Army, that the beaſtly Vice of drinking to Exceſs, hath been lately from their Example reſtored among us; which for ſome Years before, was almoſt dropt in *England*. But, whoever the Introducers were, they have ſucceeded to a Miracle; many of the young Nobility and Gentry are already become great

great Proficients, and are under no manner of Concern to hide their Talent, but are got beyond all Sense of Shame or Fear of Reproach.

THIS might soon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young Person of Quality whatsoever, who were notoriously addicted to that or any other Vice, should be capable of Her Favour, or even admitted into Her Presence; with positive Command to Her Ministers and others in great Office, to treat them in the same Manner; after which, all Men who had any Regard for their Reputation, or any Prospect of Preferment, would avoid their Commerce. This would quickly make Vice so scandalous, that those who could not subdue, would at least endeavour to disguise it.

BY the like Methods, a Stop might be put to that ruinous Practice of deep Gaming; and the Reason why it prevails so much, is because a Treatment *directly opposite* in every

Point is made uſe of to promote it; by which Means the Laws made againſt this Abuſe are wholly eluded.

IT cannot be denied, that the Want of ſtrict Diſcipline in the Univerſities, hath been of pernicous Conſequence to the Youth of this Nation, who are there almoſt left entirely to their own Management, eſpecially thoſe among them of better Quality and Fortune; who becauſe they are not under a neceſſity of making Learning their Maintenance, are eaſily allowed to paſs their Time and take their Degrees with little or no Improvement: Than which there cannot well be a greater Abſurdity. For if no Advancement of Knowledge can be had from thoſe Places, the Time there ſpent is at beſt utterly loſt, becauſe every ornamental Part of Education is better taught elſewhere: And as for keeping Youths out of Harmsway, I doubt, where ſo many of them are got together at full Liberty of doing what they pleaſe, it will not anſwer the End. But, whatever Abuſes

Abuſes, Corruptions, or Deviations from Statutes have crept into the Univerſities, through Neglect, or Length of Time; they might in a great Degree be reformed by ſtrict Injunctions from Court, (upon each particular) to the Viſitors and Heads of Houſes; beſides the peculiar Authority the Queen may have in ſeveral Colleges, whereof Her Predeceſſors were the Founders. And among other Regulations it would be very convenient to prevent the Exceſs of Drink, with that ſcurvy Cuſtom among the Lads, aud Parent of the former Vice, the taking of Tobacco, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary in Point of Health.

FROM the Univerſities, the young Nobility, and others of great Fortunes, are ſent for early up to Town, for fear of contracting any Airs of Pedantry by a College Education. Many of the younger Gentry retire to the Inns of Court, where they are wholly left to their own Diſcretion. And the Conſequence of this Remiſneſs in Education appears by obſerving,

ſerving that Nine or Ten of thoſe who riſe in the Church or the Court, the Law or the Army, are younger Brothers, or new Men, whoſe narrow Fortunes have forced them upon Induſtry and Application.

AS for the Inns of Court, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be much degenerated, they muſt needs be the worſt inſtituted Seminaries in any Chriſtian Country; but whether they may be corrected without Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, I have not Skill enough to determine. However it is certain that all wiſe Nations have agreed in the Neceſſity of a ſtrict Education, which conſiſted among other Things in the Obſervance of Moral Duties, eſpecially, Juſtice, Temperance, and Chaſtity, as well as the Knowledge of Arts, and bodily Exerciſes: But all theſe, among us, are laughed out of Doors.

WITHOUT the leaſt Intention to offend the Clergy, I cannot but think, that through a miſtaken Notion and Practice, they prevent themſelves

ſelves from doing much Service, which otherwiſe might lie in their Power, to Religion and Virtue: I mean, by affecting ſo much to converſe with each other, and caring ſo little to mingle with the Laity. They have their particular Clubs, and particular Coffee-houſes, where they generally appear in Cluſters: A ſingle Divine dares hardly ſhew his Perſon among Numbers of fine Gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into ſuch Company, he is ſilent, and ſuſpicious, in continual Appehenſion, that ſome pert Man of Pleaſure ſhould break an unmannerly Jeſt, and render him ridiculous. Now, I take this Behaviour of the Clergy to be juſt as reaſonable, as if the Phyſicians ſhould agree to ſpend their Time in viſiting one another, or their ſeveral Apothecaries, and leave their Patients to ſhift for themſelves. In my humble Opinion, the Clergy's Buſineſs lies entirely among the Laity; neither is there perhaps a more effectual Way to forward the Salvation of Mens Souls, than for ſpiritual Perſons to make themſelves as agreeable as they can in the Converſa-

verſations of the World; for which a learned Education gives them great Advantage, if they would pleaſe to improve and apply it. It ſo happens, that the *Men of Pleaſure*, who never go to Church, nor amuſe themſelves to read Books of Devotion, form their Idea's of the Clergy from a few poor Strolers they often obſerve in the Streets, or ſneaking out of ſome Perſon of Quality's Houſe, where they are hired by the Lady at Ten Shillings a Month; while thoſe of better Figure and Parts do ſeldom appear, to correct theſe Notions. And let ſome Reaſoners think what they pleaſe, 'tis certain, that Men muſt be brought to eſteem and love the Clergy, before they can be perſuaded to be in Love with Religion. No Man values the beſt Medicine if adminiſtred by a Phyſician whoſe Perſon he hates or deſpiſes. If the Clergy were as forward to appear in all Companies, as other Gentlemen, and would a little ſtudy the Arts of Converſation, to make themſelves agreeable, they might be welcome at every Party, where there was the leaſt Regard for Politeneſs

neſs or good Senſe; and conſequently prevent a thouſand vicious or prophane Diſcourſes, as well as Actions; neither would Men of Underſtanding complain, that a Clergyman was a Conſtraint upon the Company, becauſe they could not ſpeak Blaſphemy or obſcene Jeſts before him. While the People are ſo jealous of the Clergy's Ambition, as to abhor all Thoughts of the Return of Eccleſiaſtick Diſcipline among them, I do not ſee any other Method left for Men of that Function to take, in order to reform the World, than by uſing all honeſt Arts to make themſelves acceptable to the Laity. This no doubt, is Part of that Wiſdom of the Serpent, which the Author of Chriſtianity directs, and is the very Method uſed by St. *Paul*, who *became all things to all Men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

HOW to remedy theſe Inconveniences, may be a Matter of ſome Difficulty, ſince the Clergy ſeem to be of an Opinion, that this Humour of ſequeſtring themſelves is a Part of their

their Duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told so by some of their Bishops in their Pastoral Letters, particularly by *one* among them of great Merit and Distinction, who yet in his own Practice hath all his Life-time taken a Course directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward Shame, and Fear of ill Usage from the Laity, have not a greater Share in the mistaken Conduct, than their own Inclinations: However, if the outward Profession of Religion and Virtue, were once in Practice and Countenance at Court, as well as among all Men in Office, or who have any Hopes or Dependance for Preferment; a good Treatment of the Clergy would be the necessary Consequence of such a Reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own Duty and Interest in qualifying themselves for Lay-Conversation, when once they were out of Fear of being chocqued by Ribaldry or Prophaneness.

THERE is one further Circumstance upon this Occasion, which I know not whether it will be very Ortho-

Orthodox to mention: The Clergy are the only Set of Men among us who constantly wear a distinct Habit from others: The Consequence of which (not in Reason but in Fact) is this, that as long as any scandalous Persons appear in that Dress, it will continue in some Degree a general Mark of Contempt. Whoever happens to see a *Scoundrel in a Gown*, reeling Home at Midnight (a Sight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*) is apt to entertain an ill Idea of the whole Order, and at the same Time to be extreamly comforted in his own Vices. Some Remedy might be put to this, if those straggling Gentlemen who come up to Town to *seek their Fortunes*, were fairly dismiss'd to the *West-Indies*, where there is Work enough, and where some better Provision should be made for them, than I doubt there is at present. Or, what if no Person were allowed to wear the Habit who had not some Preferment in the Church, or at least some temporal Fortune sufficient to keep him out of Contempt? Though in my Opinion, it were infinitely better

if all the Clergy (except the Biſhops) were permitted to appear like other Men of the graver Sort, unleſs at thoſe Seaſons when they are doing the Buſineſs of their Function.

THERE is one Abuſe in this Town which wonderfully contributes to the Promotion of Vice; that ſuch Men are often put into the Commiſſion of the Peace, whoſe Intereſt it is, that Virtue ſhould be utterly baniſhed from among us; who maintain, or at leaſt enrich themſelves by encouraging the groſſeſt Immoralities; to whom all the *Bawds* of the *Ward* pay Contribution for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus theſe worthy Magiſtrates, inſtead of leſſening Enormities, are the Occaſion of juſt twice as much Debauchery as there would be without them. For thoſe infamous Women are forced upon doubling their Work and Induſtry, to anſwer double Charges, of paying the Juſtice, and ſupporting themſelves. Like Thieves who 'ſcape the Gallows, and are let out to ſteal in order to diſcharge the Jaylors Fees.

IT

IT is not to be queſtion'd, but the Queen and Miniſtry might eaſily redreſs this abominable Grievance; by enlarging the Number of Juſtices of the Peace, by endeavouring to chuſe Men of virtuous Principles, by admitting none who have not conſiderable Fortunes, perhaps by receiving into the Number ſome of the moſt eminent Clergy: Then, by forcing all of them upon ſevere Penalties, to act when there is Occaſion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuſe the Commiſſion; but in theſe Two laſt Caſes, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the Legiſlature.

THE Reformation of the Stage is entirely in the Power of the Queen; and in the Conſequences it hath upon the Minds of younger People, does very well deſerve the ſtricteſt Care. Beſide the undecent and prophane Paſſages; beſide the perpetual turning into Ridicule the very Function of the Prieſthood, with other Irregularities in moſt modern Comedies; which have been often objected to

them; it is worth observing the distributive Justice of the Author, which is constantly applied to the Punishment of Virtue, and the Reward of Vice; directly opposite to the Rules of their best Criticks, as well as to the Practice of dramatick Poets in all other Ages and Countries. For Example, a Country Squire, who is represented with no other Vice, but that of being a Clown, and having the Provincial Accent upon his Tongue, which is neither a Fault nor in his Power to remedy, must be condemned to marry a cast Wench, or a crackt Chamber-Maid. On the other Side, a Rakehell of the Town, whose Character is set off with no other Accomplishments but excessive Prodigality, Prophaneness, Intemperance, and Lust; is rewarded with the Lady of great Fortune, to repair his own, which his Vices had almost ruined. And as in a Tragedy, the Hero is represented to have obtained many Victories, in order to raise his Character in the Minds of the Spectators, so the Hero of a Comedy is represented to have been victorious

in

in all his Intrigues for the same Reason. I do not remember that our *English* Poets ever suffer'd a criminal Amour to succeed upon the Stage, till the Reign of King *Charles* the second. Ever since that Time, the Alderman is made a Cuckold, the deluded Virgin is debauched, and Adultery and Fornication are supposed to be committed behind the Scenes, as part of the Action. These and many more Corruptions of the Theatre, peculiar to our Age and Nation, need continue no longer than while the Court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a Pension would not be ill employ'd on some Men of Wit, Learning, and Virtue, who might have Power to strike out every offensive or unbecoming Passage from Plays already written, as well as those that may be offered to the Stage for the future. By which and other wise Regulations, the Theatre might become a very innocent and useful Diversion, instead of being a Scandal and Reproach to our Religion and Country.

THE Propoſals I have hitherto made for the Advancement of Religion and Morality, are ſuch as come within Reach of the Adminiſtration; ſuch as a pious active Prince, with a ſteddy Reſolution, might ſoon bring to Effect. Neither am I aware of any Objections to be raiſed againſt what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought, that the making Religion a neceſſary Step to Intereſt and Favour might increaſe Hypocriſy among us: And I readily believe it would. But if One in Twenty, ſhould be brought over to true Piety by this or the like Methods, and the other Nineteen be only Hypocrites; the Advantage would ſtill be great. Beſides, Hypocriſy is much more eligible than open Infidelity and Vice; it wears the Livery of Religion, it acknowledges her Authority, and is cautious of giving a Scandal. Nay a long continued Diſguiſe, is too great a Conſtraint upon human Nature, eſpecially an *Engliſh* Diſpoſition; Men would leave off their Vices out of meer Wearineſs, rather than undergo the

the Toil and Hazard, and perhaps Expence, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with Religion as with Love; which by much dissembling, at last grows real.

ALL other Projects to this great End have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against Immorality have not been executed; and Proclamations occasionally issued out to inforce them, are wholly unregarded as things of Form. Religious Societies, though begun with excellent Intention, and by Persons of true Piety, are said, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious Clubs; and grown a Trade to enrich little knavish Informers of the meanest Rank, such as common Constables, and broken Shopkeepers.

AND That some effectual Attempt should be made towards such a Reformation, is perhaps more necessary than People commonly apprehend; because the Ruin of a State is generally preceded by an universal

Degeneracy of Manners, and Contempt of Religion; which is entirely our Case at present.

*Dis te minorem, quod geris, imperas.* Hor.

NEITHER is this a Matter to be deferred till a more convenient Time of Peace and Leisure: Because a Reformation in Mens Faith and Morals, is the best natural as well as religious Means to bring the War to a good Conclusion. For, if Men in Trust performed their Duty for Conscience-Sake, Affairs would not suffer through Fraud, Falshood, and Neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God and His Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for His divine Assistance in so just a Cause as ours.

NOR could the Majesty of the *English* Crown appear upon any Occasion in a greater Lustre, either to Foreigners or Subjects, than by an Administration, which producing such great Effects, would discover so much Power.

Power. And Power being the natural Appetite of Princes, a limited Monarch cannot so well gratify it in any Thing as a strict Execution of the Laws.

BESIDES; All Parties would be obliged to close with so good a Work as this, for their own Reputation: Neither is any Expedient more likely to unite them. For, the most violent Party-men I have ever observed, are such as in the Conduct of their Lives have discovered least Sense of Religion or Morality; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them as shall be found incorrigible, it will be a Matter perhaps of no great Difficulty to reconcile the rest.

THE many Corruptions at present in every Branch of Business, are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful Persons, that of Six Millions raised every Year for the Service of the Publick, one Third at least is sunk and intercepted through the several Classes and

Subordinations of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is applied to the proper Use. This is an accidental ill Effect of our Freedom. And while such Men are in Trust, who have no Check from within, nor any Views but towards their Interest; there is no other Fence against them but the Certainty of being hanged upon the first Discovery, by the arbitrary Will of an unlimited Monarch or his *Vizier*. Among us, the only Danger to be apprehended, is the Loss of an Employment; and that Danger is to be eluded a Thousand Ways. Besides, when Fraud is great it furnishes Weapons to defend it self: And at worst, if the Crimes be so flagrant, that a Man is laid aside out of perfect Shame, (which rarely happens,) he retires loaded with the Spoils of the Nation; *Et fruitur, Dîis iratis.* I could name a Commission, where several Persons out of a Salary of Five hundred Pounds, with other visible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of Two thousand, and laid out Forty or Fifty thousand upon Purchases of

Land

and or Annuities. An Hundred other Instances of the same Kind might easily be produced. What Remedy therefore can be found against such Grievances in a Constitution like ours, but to bring Religion into Countenance, and encourage those who from the Hope of future Reward, and Dread of future Punishment, will be moved to act with Justice and Integrity?

THIS is not to be accomplished any other Way; but by introducing Religion as much as possible to be the Turn and Fashion of the Age; which only lies in the Power of the Administration, the Prince with utmost Strictness regulating the Court, the Ministry, and other Persons in great Employment; and these by their Example and Authority, reforming all who have Dependance on them.

IT is certain that a Reformation successfully carried on in this great Town, would in Time spread it self over the whole Kingdom; since most

of

of the considerable Youth pass here that Season of their Lives wherein strongest Impressions are made, in order to improve their Education or advance their Fortune; and those among them who return into their several Countries, are sure to be followed and imitated as the greatest Patterns of Wit and good Breeding.

AND if Things were once in this Train; that is, if Virtue and Religion were established as the necessary Titles to Reputation and Preferment, and if Vice and Infidelity were not only loaden with Infamy, but made the infallible Ruin of all Mens Pretentions; our Duty by becoming our Interest would take Root in our Natures, and mix with the very Genius of our People, so that it would not be easy for the Example of one wicked Prince to bring us back to our former Corruptions.

I HAVE confined my self (as it is before observed) to those Methods for the Advancement of Piety, which are in the Power of a Prince

limited like ours, by a ſtrict Execution of the Laws already in force. And this is enough for a Project that comes without any Name or Recommendation; I doubt, a great deal more than will ſuddenly be reduced into Practice. Though, if any Diſpoſition ſhould appear towards ſo good a Work, it is certain, that the Aſſiſtance of the Legiſlative Power would be neceſſary to make it more compleat. I will Inſtance only a few Particulars.

IN order to reform the Vices of this Town, which, as we have ſaid, hath ſo mighty an Influence on the whole Kingdom; it would be very inſtrumental, to have a Law made that all Taverns or Ale-houſes ſhould be obliged to diſmiſs their Company by Twelve at Night, and ſhut up their Doors; and that no Woman ſhould be ſuffered to enter any Tavern or Ale-houſe upon any Pretence whatſoever. It is eaſy to conceive what a Number of ill Conſequences ſuch a Law would prevent; the Miſchiefs of Quarrels, and Lewdneſs, and

Theſts,

Thefts, and Midnight Brawls, the Diſeaſes of Intemperance and Venery, and a Thouſand other Evils needleſs to mention. Nor would it be amiſs if the Maſters of thoſe Publick-Houſes were obliged, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to give only a proportioned Quantity of Drink to every Company, and when he found his Gueſts diſordered with Exceſs, to refuſe them any more.

I BELIEVE there is hardly a Nation in *Chriſtendom* where all kind of Fraud is practiſed in ſo unmeaſurable a Degree as with us. The Lawyer, the Tradeſman, the Mechanick, have found ſo many Arts to deceive in their ſeveral Callings, that they far outgrow the common Prudence of Mankind, which is in no Sort able to fence againſt them. Neither could the Legiſlature in any thing more conſult the Publick Good, than by providing ſome effectual Remedy againſt this Evil, which in ſeveral Caſes deſerves greater Puniſhment than many Crimes that are capital among us. The Vintner, who

by

by mixing Poiſon with his Wines, deſtroys more Lives than any malignant Diſeaſe; the Lawyer, who perſwades you to a Purchaſe which he knows is mortgaged for more than the Worth, to the Ruin of you and your Family; the Goldſmith or Scrivener, who takes all your Fortune to diſpoſe of, when he has before-hand reſolved to break the following Day; do ſurely deſerve the Gallows much better than the Wretch who is carried there for ſtealing a Horſe.

IT cannot eaſily be anſwer'd to God or Man, why a Law is not made for limiting the Preſs; at leaſt ſo far as to prevent the publiſhing of ſuch pernicious Books, as under Pretence of *Free-Thinking*, endeavour to overthrow thoſe Tenets in Religion, which have been held inviolable almoſt in all Ages by every Sect that pretend to be Chriſtian, and cannot therefore with any Colour of Reaſon be called *Points in Controverſy*, or *Matters of Speculation*, as ſome would pretend. The Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Divinity of Chriſt*, the

the *Immortality of the Soul*, and even the Truth of all Revelation, are daily exploded, and denied in Books openely Printed; though it is to be supposed, neither Party avow such Principles, or own the supporting of them to be any way necessary to their Service.

IT would be endless to set down every Corruption or Defect which requires a Remedy from the Legislative Power. Senates are like to have little Regard for any Proposals that come from without Doors; though under a due Sense of my own Inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiast Thoughts of an honest and wise Man, employed on the Good of his Country, may be better digested, than the Results of a Multitude where Faction and Interest too often prevail; as a single Guide may direct the Way, better than Five hundred who *have contrary Views*, or *look asquint*, or *shut their Eyes*.

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I SHALL therefore mention but one more Particular which I think the Parliament ought to take under Consideration; Whether it be not a Shame to our Country, and a Scandal to Christianity, That in many Towns where there is a prodigious Increase in the Number of Houses and Inhabitants, so little Care should be taken for the building of Churches, that five Parts in Six of the People are absolutely hindred from hearing divine Service. Particularly here in *London*, where a single Minister with One or Two sorry Curates, hath the Care sometimes of above Twenty Thousand Souls incumbent on him. A Neglect of Religion, so ignominious in my Opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized Age or Country.

BUT, To leave these airy Imaginations of introducing new Laws for the Amendment of Mankind: What I principally insist on is a due Execution of the old; which lies wholly in the Crown, and in the Autho-

Authority derived from thence. I therefore return to my former Aſſertion; that, if Stations of Power, Truſt, Profit, and Honour, were conſtantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety, ſuch an Adminiſtration muſt needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themſelves for Publick Service. I may poſſibly be wrong in ſome of the Means I preſcribe towards this End; but that is no material Objection againſt the Deſign it ſelf. Let thoſe who are at the Helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may eaſily do. Every Body will agree that the Diſeaſe is manifeſt, as well as dangerous, that ſome Remedy is neceſſary, and that none yet applied hath been effectual; which is a ſufficient Excuſe for any Man who wiſhes well to his Country, to offer his Thoughts, when he can have no other End in View but the Publick Good. The preſent Queen is a Prince of as many and great

great Virtues as ever filled a Throne: How would it brighten Her Character to the preſent and after Ages, if She would exert Her utmoſt Authority to inſtil ſome Share of thoſe Virtues into Her People, which they are too degenerate to learn only from Her Example. And, be it ſpoke with all the Veneration poſſible for ſo excellent a Sovereign, Her beſt Endeavours in this weighty Affair, are a moſt important Part of Her Duty as well as her Intereſt, and Her Honour.

BUT, it muſt be confeſt, that as Things are now, every Man thinks he has laid in a ſufficient Stock of Merit, and may pretend to any Employment, provided he has been loud and frequent in declaring himſelf hearty for the Government. 'Tis true, he is a *Man of Pleaſure*, and a *Free Thinker*, that is, in other Words, he is profligate in his Morals, and a Deſpiſer of Religion; but in Point of Party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an Aſſerter of Liberty and Property; he rattles it out againſt

*Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and *Prieſt-craft*, and *High-church*: 'Tis enough: He is a Perſon fully qualified for any Employment in the Court or the Navy, the Law, or the Revenue; where he will be ſure to leave no Arts untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, that he can practice with any Hope of Impunity. No wonder ſuch Men are true to a Government, where Liberty runs high, where Property, *however attained*, is ſo well ſecured, and where the Adminiſtration is at laſt ſo gentle: 'Tis impoſſible they could chuſe any other Conſtitution, without changing to their Loſs.

FIDELITY to a preſent Eſtabliſhment is indeed the principal Means to defend it from a foreign Enemy, but without other Qualifications will not prevent Corruptions from within, and States are oftner ruined by theſe than the other.

TO

to conclude. Whether the Propoſals I have offered towards a Reformation, be ſuch as are moſt prudent and convenient, may probably be a Queſtion; but it is none at all, whether ſome Reformation be abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe the Nature of things is ſuch, that if Abuſes be not remedied, they will certainly increaſe, nor ever ſtop till they end in the Subverſion of a Commonwealth. As there muſt always of Neceſſity be ſome Corruptions, ~~ſo in a well inſtituted State,~~ the executive Power will be always contending againſt them, by *reducing Things* (as *Machiavel* ſpeaks) *to their firſt Principles*, never letting Abuſes grow inveterate, or multiply ſo far that it will be hard to find Remedies, and perhaps impoſſible to apply them. As he that would keep his Houſe in Repair, muſt attend every little Breach or Flaw, and ſupply it immediately, elſe Time alone will bring all to ruin; how much more the common Accidents of Storms and Rain? He muſt live in perpetual Danger of his Houſe falling about his Ears; and will find

it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the Ground; perhaps upon a new Foundation, or at leaſt in a new Form, which may neither be ſo ſafe nor ſo convenient as the old.

*FINIS.*

# A MEDITATION Upon a Broom-stick:

According to

## The Style and Manner of the Hon^ble ROBERT BOYLE'S Meditations.

Written *August*, 1704.

THIS single Stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected Corner, I once knew in a flourishing State in a

Foreſt; it was full of Sap, full of Leaves, and full of Boughs: but now, in vain does the buſy Art of Man pretend to vye with Nature, by tying that wither'd Bundle of Twigs to its ſapleſs Trunk; 'tis now at beſt but the Reverſe of what it was, a Tree turned upſide down, the Branches on the Earth, and the Root in the Air; 'tis now handled by every dirty Wench, condemned to do her Drudgery, and, by a capricious kind of Fate, deſtin'd to make other Things Clean, and be Naſty it ſelf: At length, worn to the Stumps in the Service of the Maids, 'tis either thrown out of Doors, or condemned to the laſt Uſe of kindling a Fire. When I beheld this, I ſigh'd, and ſaid within my ſelf, **Surely mortal Man is a Broom-ſtick**; Nature ſent him into the World ſtrong and luſty in a thriving Condition, wearing his own Hair on his Head, the proper Branches of this Reaſoning Vegetable, till the Axe of Intemperance has lopp'd off his green Boughs, and left him a wither'd Trunk: He then flies to Art, and puts on a *Periwig*, valuing himſelf upon an unnatural

Bundle

Bundle of Hairs, all covered with Powder that never grew on his Head; but now ſhould this our *Broom-ſtick* pretend to enter the Scene, proud of thoſe *Birchen* Spoils it never bore, and all covered with Duſt, though the Sweepings of the fineſt Lady's Chamber, we ſhould be apt to ridicule and deſpiſe its Vanity. Partial Judges that we are of our own Excellencies, and other Mens Defaults!

BUT a *Broom-ſtick*, perhaps you will ſay, is an Emblem of a Tree ſtanding on its Head; and pray what is Man, but a topſy-turvy Creature, his Animal Faculties perpetually mounted on his Rational, his Head where his Heels ſhould be, groveling on the Earth! And yet, with all his Faults, he ſets up to be an univerſal Reformer and Corrector of Abuſes, a Remover of Grievances, rakes into every Sluts Corner of Nature, bringing hidden Corruptions to the Light, and raiſes a mighty Duſt where there was none before, ſharing deeply all the while, in the very ſame Pollutions he pretends to ſweep away: His laſt Days

are ſpent in Slavery to Women, and generally the leaſt deſerving; till worn to the Stumps, like his Brother *Bezom*, he is either kick'd out of Doors, or made uſe of to kindle Flames, for others to warm themſelves by.

*FINIS.*

# *Various Thoughts,*

## MORAL *and* DIVERTING.

Written *October* 1. 1706.

WE have just enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

REFLECT on things past, as Wars, Negotiations, Factions, *&c.* We enter so little into those Interests, that we wonder how Men could possibly be so busy and concerned for things so Transitory; look on the present Times, we find the same Humour, yet wonder not at all.

A Wise Man endeavours by considering all Circumstances to make Con-

Conjectures, and form Concluſions, but the ſmalleſt Accident intervening (and in the courſe of Affairs it is impoſſible to foreſee all) does often produce ſuch Turns and Changes, that at laſt he is juſt as much in doubt of Events, as the moſt ignorant and unexperienced Perſon.

POSITIVENESS is a good Quality for Preachers and Orators, becauſe he that would obtrude his Thoughts and Reaſons upon a Multitude, will convince others the more as he appears convinced himſelf.

How is it poſſible to expect that Mankind will take Advice, when they will not ſo much as take Warning?

I forget whether Advice be among the loſt Things which *Arioſto* ſays are to be found in the Moon; that and Time ought to have been there.

NO Preacher is liſtned to but Time, which gives us the ſame Train and Turn of Thought that elder People have

have tried in vain to put into our Heads before.

WHEN we desire or sollicit any Thing our Minds run wholly on the good side or Circumstances of it; when 'tis obtained, our Minds run only on the bad ones.

IN a *Glass-House*, the Workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh Coals, which seems to disturb the Fire; but, very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the Passions that the Mind may not languish.

RELIGION seems to have grown an Infant with Age, and requires Miracles to nurse it, as it had in its Infancy.

ALL Fits of Pleasure are ballanced by an equal degree of Pain or Languor; 'tis like Spending this Year, part of the next Years Revenue.

THE latter Part of a Wise-man's Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Preju-

Prejudices and false Opinions he had contracted in the former.

WOULD a Writer know how to behave himself with relation to Posterity, let him consider in old Books, what he finds that he is glad to know, and what Omissions he most laments.

WHATEVER the Poets pretend, 'tis plain they give Immortality to none but themselves; 'Tis *Homer* and *Virgil* we reverence and admire, not *Achilles* or *Eneas*. With Historians it is quite the contrary; our Thoughts are taken up with the Actions, Persons, and Events we read, and we little regard the Authors.

WHEN a true Genius appears in the World, you may know him by this Sign, that the Dunces are all in Confederacy against him.

MEN who possess all the Advantages of Life, are in a State where there are many Accidents to disorder, and discompose, but few to please them.

'TIS

'TIS unwiſe to puniſh Cowards with Ignominy; for if they had regarded that they would not have been Cowards: Death is their proper Puniſhment, becauſe they fear it moſt.

THE greateſt Inventions were produced in the Times of Ignorance, as the Uſe of the *Compaſs*, *Gunpowder*, and *Printing*, and by the dulleſt Nation, as the *Germans*.

ONE Augument to prove that the common Relations of *Ghoſts* and *Spectres* are generally falſe, may be drawn from the Opinion held that Spirits are never ſeen by more than one Perſon at a time, that is to ſay, it ſeldom happens to above one Perſon in a Company to be poſſeſt with any high degree of Spleen or Melancholly.

I am apt to think, that in the Day of Judgment, there will be ſmall Allowance given to the Wiſe for their want of Morals, nor to the Ignorant for their want of Faith, becauſe both are

are without Excuſe. This renders the Advantages equal of Ignorance and Knowledge. But, ſome Scruples in the Wiſe, and ſome Vices in the Ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the ſtrength of Temptation to each.

THE Value of ſeveral Circumſtances in Story leſſens very much by diſtance of Time, tho' ſome minute Circumſtances are very valuable, and it requires great Judgment in a Writer to diſtinguiſh.

'TIS grown a word of Courſe for Writers to ſay, This Critical Age, as Divines ſay, This Sinful Age.

'TIS pleaſant to obſerve how free the preſent Age is in laying Taxes on the next. *Future Ages ſhall talk of this; This ſhall be famous to all Poſterity*; whereas their Time and Thoughts will be taken up about preſent Things, as ours are now.

THE

THE *Camelion* who is ſaid to feed upon nothing but Air, hath of all Animals the nimbleſt Tongue.

WHEN a Man is made a Spiritual Peer, he loſes his Surname; when a Temporal his Chriſtian Name.

IT is in Diſputes as in Armies, where the weaker ſide ſets up falſe Lights, and makes a great Noiſe to make the Enemy believe them more Numerous and Strong than they really are.

SOME Men under the Notions of weeding out Prejudices, eradicate Virtue, Honeſty and Religion.

IN all well inſtituted Commonwealths, care has been taken to limit Mens Poſſeſſions; which is done for many Reaſons, and among the reſt, for one which perhaps is not often conſidered; That when Bounds are ſet to Mens deſires, after they have acquired as much as the Laws will permit them, their private Intereſt is

at

at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take Care of the Publick.

THERE are but Three ways for a Man to revenge himſelf of the Cenſure of the World; to deſpiſe it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live ſo as to avoid it. The Firſt of theſe is uſually pretended, the Laſt is almoſt impoſſible, the univerſal Practice is for the Second.

*HERODOTUS* tells us, that in Cold Countries Beaſts very ſeldom have Horns, but in Hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleaſant Application.

I never heard a finer Piece of Satyr againſt *Lawyers*, than that of *Aſtrologers*, when they pretend by Rules of Art to tell when a Suit will end, and whether to the Advantage of the Plaintiff or Defendant; thus making the Matter depend entirely upon the Influence of the Stars, without the leaſt Regard to the Merits of the Cauſe.

THE

THE Expreſſion in *Apocrypha* about *Tobit* and his Dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed; yet *Homer* has the ſame Words of *Telemachus* more than once, and *Virgil* ſays ſomething like it of *Evander*. And I take the Book of *Tobit* to be partly Poetical.

I have known ſome Men poſſeſſed of good Qualities, which were very Serviceable to others, but uſeleſs to themſelves; like a Sun-Dial on the Front of a Houſe, to inform the Neighbours and Paſſengers, but not the Owner within.

IF a Man would regiſter all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning, *&c.* beginning from his Youth, and ſo go on to Old Age, what a Bundle of Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions would appear at laſt?

WHAT they do in Heaven, we are ignorant of; what they do not, we are told expreſly, That they neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage.

WHEN a Man obſerves the Choice of Ladies now a-days in the diſpenſing of their Favours, can he forbear paying ſome Veneration to the Memory of thoſe Mares mentioned by *Xenophon*, who while their Manes were on, that is, while they were in their Beauty, would never admit the Embraces of an Aſs.

*De re equeſtri.*

'TIS a miſerable thing to live in Suſpence; it is the Life of a Spider. *Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba dixit.* Ovid. Metam.

THE Stoical Scheme of Supplying our Wants by lopping off our Deſires, is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes.

PHYSICIANS ought not to give their Judgment of Religion, for the ſame Reaſon that Butchers are not admitted to be Jurors upon Life and Death.

THE Reaſon why ſo few Marriages are Happy, is becauſe Young

Ladies ſpend their Time in making Nets, not in making Cages.

IF a Man will obſerve as he walks the Streets, I believe he will find the Merrieſt Countenances in Mourning Coaches.

NOTHING more unqualifies a Man to act with Prudence, than a Misfortune that is attended with Shame and Guilt.

THE Power of Fortune is confeſt only by the Miſerable; for the Happy impute all their Succeſs to Prudence or Merit.

AMBITION often puts Men upon doing the meaneſt Offices; ſo Climbing is performed in the ſame Poſture with Creeping.

ILL Company is like a Dog, who Dirts thoſe moſt whom he loves beſt.

CENSURE is the Tax a Man pays to the Publick for being eminent.

*FINIS.*

# A CRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE Faculties of the Mind.

*Auguſt* 6. 1707.

## To --- ---

SIR,

*BEING ſo great a Lover of Antiquities, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe you would be very much obliged with any thing that was New. I have been of late offended with many Writers of Eſſays and Moral Diſcourſes, for running into State Topicks and Thread-bare Quotations, and not handling their Subject fully and cloſe-*

*ly: All which Errors I have carefully avoided in the following Eſſay, which I have propoſed as a Pattern for Young Writers to imitate. The Thoughts, and Obſervations being entirely New; the Quotations untaught by others, the Subject of mighty Importance, and treated with much Order and Perſpicuity; it has coſt me a great deal of Time. And I deſire you will accept and conſider it as the utmoſt Effort of my Genius.*

# A *Critical Essay*, &c.

PHILOSOPHERS say, that Man is a Microcosm or little World, resembling in Miniature every part of the great: And, in my Opinion, the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick: And if this be so, how can the *Epicureans* Opinion be true, that the Universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of Atoms, which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet would fall by Chance into a most ingenious and learned Treatise of Philosophy, *Risum teneatis amici*, Hor. This false Opinion must needs create many more; 'tis like an Error in the first Concoction, which cannot be Corrected in the second; the Foundation is weak, and whatever Superstructure you raise upon it must of Necessity fall

to the Ground. Thus Men are led from one Error to another, till with *Ixion* they embrace a Cloud inſtead of *Juno*; or, like the Dog in the Fable, loſe the Subſtance in gaping at the Shadow. For ſuch Opinions cannot cohere; but, like the Iron and Clay in the Toes of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, muſt ſeparate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain Author, that *Alexander* wept becauſe he had no more Worlds to conquer; which he need not have done, if the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms could create one; But this is an Opinion fitter for that many-headed Beaſt the Vulgar to entertain, than for ſo wiſe a Man as *Epicurus*; the corrupt Part of his Sect only borrowed his Name, as the Monkey did the Cat's Claw to draw the Cheſnut out of the Fire.

HOWEVER, the firſt Step to the Cure is to know the Diſeaſe; and though Truth may be difficult to find, becauſe, as the Philoſopher obſerves, ſhe lives in the Bottom of a Well; yet we need not, like Blind Men, grope

grope in open Day-light. I hope I may be allowed among ſo many far more Learned Men, to offer my Mite, ſince a Stander-by may ſometimes perhaps ſee more of the Game than he that Plays it. But I do not think a Philoſopher obliged to account for every Phænomenon in Nature, or Drown himſelf with *Ariſtotle* for not being able to ſolve the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide, in that fatal Sentence he paſt upon himſelf, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.*

WHEREIN he was at once the Judge and the Criminal, the Accuſer and Executioner. *Socrates* on the other hand, who ſaid he knew nothing, was pronounced by the Oracle to be the Wiſeſt Man in the World.

BUT, to return from this Digreſſion, I think it as clear as any Demonſtration in *Euclid*, that Nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her ſecret Receſſes, we ſhould find that the ſmalleſt Blade of Graſs, or moſt contemptible Weed, has its particular Uſe, but ſhe is chiefly admi-

admirable in her minuteſt Compoſitions, the leaſt and moſt contemptible Inſect moſt diſcovers the Art of Nature, if I may ſo call it; tho' Nature, which delights in Variety, will always triumph over Art; And as the Poet obſerves,

*Naturam expellas furcâ licet, uſque recurret.* Hor.

BUT the various Opinions of Philoſophers have ſcattered through the World as many Plagues of the Mind, as *Pandora*'s Box did thoſe of the Body, only with this difference, that they have not left Hope at the Bottom. And if Truth be not fled with *Aſtræa*, ſhe is certainly as hidden as the Source of *Nile*, and can be found only in *Utopia*. Not that I would reflect on thoſe wiſe Sages, which would be a ſort of Ingratitude; and he that calls a Man Ungrateful, ſums up all the Evil that a Man can be guilty of,

*Ingratum ſi dixeris omnia dicis.*

BUT

BUT what I blame the Philosophers for (tho some may think it a Paradox,) is chiefly their Pride; nothing less than an *Ipse dixit*, and you must pin your Faith on their Sleeve. And though *Diogenes* lived in a Tub, there might be, for ought I know, as much Pride under his Rags, as in the fine spun Garment of the Divine *Plato*. It is reported of this *Diogenes*, that when *Alexander* came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask; the *Cynick* only answered, *Take not from me what thou canst not give me, but stand from between me and the Light*; which was almost as extravagant as the Philosopher that flung his Money into the Sea, with this remarkable Saying . . . .

HOW different was this Man from the Usurer, who being told his Son would Spend all he had Got, replied, *He cannot take more Pleasure in Spending, than I did in Getting it.* These Men could see the Faults of each other, but not their own; those they

flung

flung into the Bag behind; *Non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo eſt.* I may perhaps be cenſured for my free Opinions, by thoſe carping Momus's, whom Authors worſhip as the *Indians* do the Devil, for Fear. They will endeavour to give my Reputation as many Wounds as the Man in the Almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps, like Flies, they may buz ſo often about the Candle, till they burn their Wings. They muſt pardon me if I venture to give them this Advice, not to rail at what they cannot underſtand: it does but diſcover that ſelf-tormenting Paſſion of Envy, than which the greateſt Tyrant never intended a more cruel Torment.

*Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni*
*Tormentum majus* ——— Juven.

I muſt be ſo bold to tell my Criticks and Witlings, that they are no more Judges of this, than a Man that is born Blind can have any true Idea of Colours. I have always obſerved that your empty Veſſels ſound loudeſt:

I value their Laſhes as little as the Sea did when *Xerxes* whip'd it. The utmoſt Favour a Man can expect from them is, that which *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, that he would Devour him the laſt: They think to ſubdue a Writer as *Cæſar* did his Enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici.* I confeſs I value the Opinion of the Judicious Few, a *R——r*, a *D——s*, or a *W——k*; but for the reſt, to give my Judgment at once, I think the long Diſpute among the Philoſophers about a Vacuum, may be determined in the Affirmative, that it is to be found in a Critick's Head. They are at beſt but the Drones of the Learned World, who devour the Honey, and will not work themſelves; and a Writer need no more regard them than the Moon does the Barking of a little ſenſleſs Cur. For, in ſpight of their terrible Roaring, you may with half an Eye diſcover the *Aſs* under the *Lyon's* Skin.

BUT to return to our Diſcourſe. *Demoſthenes* being ask'd what was the Firſt part of an Orator, replied, *Action*,

*Action*, what was the Second, *Action*, what was the Third, *Action*, and so on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in Oratory, but Contemplation in other Things exceeds Action. And therefore a Wise Man is never less alone than when he is alone.

*Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.*

AND *Archimedes*, the famous Mathematician, was so intent upon his Problems, that he never minded the Soldier who came to Kill him. Therefore not to detract from the just Praise which belongs to Orators, they ought to consider that Nature, which gave us two Eyes to See, and two Ears to Hear, has given us but one Tongue to speak, wherein however some do so abound, that the Virtuosi who have been so long in search for the Perpetual Motion, may infallibly find it there.

SOME Men admire Republicks, because Orators flourish there most and are the great Enemies of Tyranny; But my Opinion is, that One Tyrant

Tyrant is better than a Hundred; Beſides, theſe Orators enflame the People, whoſe Anger is really but a ſhort fit of Madneſs.

*Ira furor brevis eſt.* ——Hor.

AFTER which, Laws are like Cobwebs, which may catch ſmall Flies, but let Waſps and Hornets break through. But in Oratory, the greateſt Art is to hide Art.

*Artis eſt celare Artem.*

But this muſt be the work of Time, we muſt lay hold on all Opportunities, and let ſlip no Occaſion, elſe we ſhall be forced to Weave *Penelope*'s Web, unravel in the Night what we did in the Day. And therefore I have obſerved that Time is Painted with a Lock before, and Bald behind, ſignifying thereby that we muſt take Time (as we ſay) by the Forelock, for when 'tis once paſt, there is no recalling it.

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THE Mind of Man is at firſt (if you will pardon the Expreſſion) like a *Tabula raſa*, or like Wax, which while it is Soft is capable of any Impreſſion, 'till Time has hardened it. And at length Death, that grim Tyrant, ſtops us in the midſt of our Career. The greateſt Conquerors have at laſt been Conquered by Death, which ſpares none, from the Scepter to the Spade.

*Mors omnibus communis.*

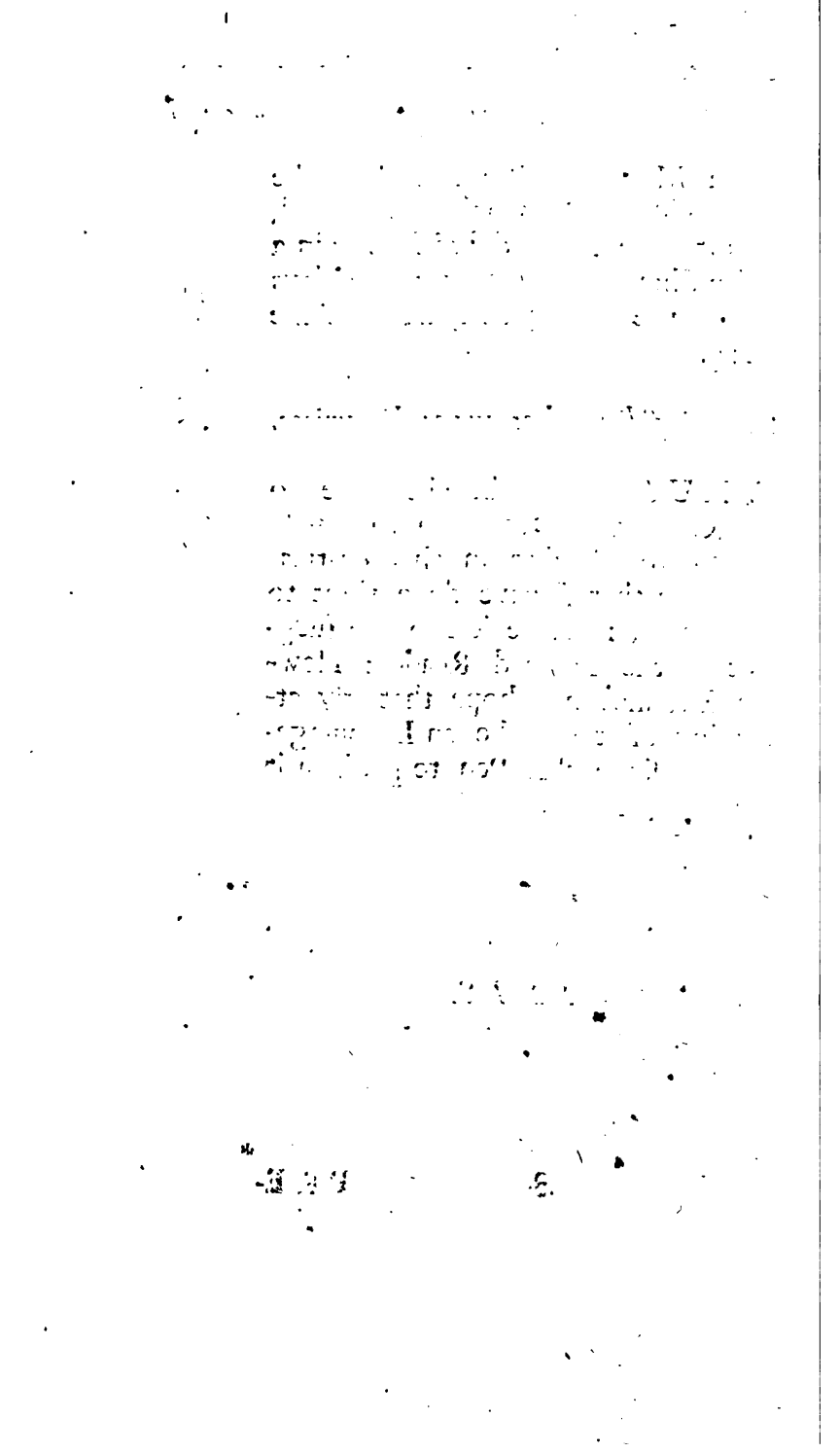
ALL Rivers go to the Sea, but none return from it. *Xerxes* wept when he beheld his Army, to conſider that in leſs than a Hundred Years they would be all Dead. *Anacreon* was choak'd with a Grape-ſtone, and violent Joy kills as well as violent Grief. There is nothing in this World conſtant, but Inconſtancy; yet *Plato* thought, that if Virtue would appear to the World in her own native Dreſs, all Men would be Enamoured with her. But now ſince Intereſt governs the World, and Men neglect the Golden

Golden Mean, *Jupiter* himſelf, if he came on the Earth would be Deſpiſed, unleſs it were as he did to *Danaæ* in a Golden Shower. For Men now a-days Worſhip the Riſing Sun, and not the Setting.

*Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.*

THUS have I, in obedience to your Commands, ventured to expoſe my ſelf to Cenſure in this Critical Age. Whether I have done right to my Subject, muſt be left to the Judgment of the Learned Reader: However, I cannot but hope that my attempting of it may be an Encouragement for ſome able Pen to perform it with more Succeſs.

*FINIS.*



# PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR, 1708.

Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are ſet down, the Perſons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related, as they will come to paſs.

*Written to prevent the People of* England *from being farther impos'd on by vulgar Almanack-makers.*

*By* ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Eſq;*

I HAVING long conſidered the groſs Abuſe of Aſtrology in this Kingdom, and upon debating the Matter with my ſelf, I could not poſſibly lay the Fault upon the Art,

but upon thoſe groſs Impoſtors who ſet up to be the Artiſts. I know ſeveral learned Men have contended that the whole is a Cheat; that it is abſurd and ridiculous to imagine, the Stars can have any Influence at all upon human Actions, Thoughts or Inclinations: And whoever has not bent his Studies that way, may be excuſed for thinking ſo, when he ſees in how wretched a manner that noble Art is treated by a few mean illiterate Traders between us and the Stars; who import a Yearly Stock of Nonſenſe, Lies, Folly and Impertinence, which they offer to the World as genuine from the Planets, tho they deſcend from no greater a height than their own Brains.

I intend in a ſhort Time to publiſh a large and rational Defence of this Art, and therefore ſhall ſay no more in its Juſtification at preſent, than that it hath been in all Ages defended by many learned Men, and among the reſt by *Socrates* himſelf, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wiſeſt of uninſpired Mortals: to which if

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we add, that those who have condemned this Art, tho' otherwise Learned, having been such as either did not apply their Studies this Way, or at least did not succeed in their Applications: Their Testimony will not be of much weight to its Disadvantage, since they are liable to the common Objection of condemning what they did not understand.

NOR am I at all offended, or think it an Injury to the Art, when I see the common Dealers in it, the *Students in Astrology*, the *Philomaths*, and the rest of that Tribe, treated by wise Men with the utmost Scorn and Contempt; but rather wonder, when I observe Gentlemen in the Country, rich enough to serve the Nation in Parliament, poring in *Partridge*'s Almanack, to find out the Events of the Year at Home and Abroad; not daring to propose a Hunting Match, till *Gadbury* or he have fix'd the Weather.

I will allow either of the Two I have mention'd, or any other of the

Fraternity, to be not only Aſtrologers, but Conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred Inſtances in all their Almanacks, to convince any reaſonable Man, that they do not ſo much as underſtand common Grammar and Syntax; that they are not able to ſpell any Word out of the uſual Road, nor even in their Prefaces write common Senſe or intelligible *Engliſh*. Then for their Obſervations and Predictions, they are ſuch as will equally ſuit any Age or Country in the World. *This Month a certain great Perſon will be threatned with Death or Sickneſs.* This the News-Paper will tell them, for there we find at the End of the Year, that no Month paſſes without the Death of ſome Perſon of Note: and it would be hard if it ſhould be otherwiſe, when there are at leaſt Two thouſand Perſons of Note, in this Kingdom, many of them old, and the Almanack-maker has the liberty of chuſing the ſickliest Seaſon of the Year where he may fix his Prediction. Again, *This Month an eminent Clergyman will be preferr'd*; of which there may be ſome Hundreds, half of them

them with one Foot in the Grave. Then *Such a Planet in such a House shews great Machinations, Plots and Conspiracies, that may in time be brought to Light:* After which, if we hear of any Discovery, the Astrologer gets the Honour, if not his Prediction still stands good. And at last, *God preserve K.* William *from all his open and secret Enemies, Amen.* When if the King should happen to have died, the Astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes but for the pious Ejaculations of a Loyal Subject: Tho' it unluckily happened in some of their Almanacks, that poor K. *William* was pray'd for many Months after he was dead, because it fell out that he died about the beginning of the Year.

TO mention no more of their impertinent Predictions; What have we to do with their Advertisements about *Pills and Drink for the Venereal Disease*, or their mutual Quarrels in Verse and Prose of *Whig* and *Tory*, wherewith the Stars have little to do?

HAVING long observed and lamented these, and a hundred other Abuses of this Art, too tedious to repeat, I resolved to proceed in a new Way, which I doubt not will be to the general Satisfaction of the Kingdom: I can this Year produce but a Specimen of what I design for the future: Having employ'd most part of my time in adjusting and correcting the Calculations I made for some Years past, because I would offer nothing to the World of which I am not as fully satisfied, as that I am now alive. For these two last Years I have not failed in above one or two Particulars, and those of no very great Moment. I exactly foretold the Miscarriage at *Toulon*, with all its Particulars; and the loss of Admiral *Shovell*, tho' I was mistaken as to the Day, placing that Accident about 36 Hours sooner than it happen'd; but upon reviewing my Schemes, I quickly found the Cause of that Error. I likewise foretold the Battel at *Almanza* to the very Day and Hour, with the Loss on both Sides, and the

Conſequences thereof. All which I ſhewed to ſome Friends many Months before they happened. That is, I gave them Papers ſealed up, to open in ſuch a Time, after which they were at Liberty to read them; and there they found my Predictions true in every Article, except one or two very minute.

AS for the few following Predictions I now offer the World, I forbore to publiſh them till I had peruſed the ſeveral Almanacks for the Year we are now entred on. I find them all in the uſual Strain, and I beg the Reader will compare their Manner with mine: And here I make bold to tell the World, that I lay the whole Credit of my Art upon the Truth of theſe Predictions; And I will be content, that *Partridge*, and the reſt of his Clan, may hoot me for a Cheat and Impoſtor, if I fail in any ſingle Particular of Moment. I believe, any Man who reads this Paper will look upon me to be at leaſt a Perſon of as much Honeſty and Underſtanding, as a common Maker of Almanacks. I do not lurk

in

in the Dark; I am not wholly unknown in the World; I have ſet my Name at length, to be a Mark of Infamy to Mankind if they ſhall find I deceive them.

IN one Thing I muſt deſire to be forgiven, that I talk more ſparingly of Home-Affairs: As it would be Imprudence to diſcover Secrets of State, ſo it would be dangerous to my Perſon; but in ſmaller Matters, and that are not of Publick Conſequence, I ſhall be very free; and the Truth of my Conjectures will as much appear from theſe as the other. As for the moſt ſignal Events abroad in *France*, *Flanders*, *Italy* and *Spain*, I ſhall make no Scruple to Predict them in plain Terms: Some of them are of Importance, and I hope I ſhall ſeldom miſtake the Day they will happen; therefore I think good to inform the Reader, that I all along make uſe of the *Old Style* obſerved in *England*, which I deſire he will compare with that of the News-Papers, at the time they relate the Actions I mention.

I muſt

I muſt add one Word more; I know it hath been the Opinion of ſeveral Learned, who think well enough of the true Art of Aſtrology, That the Stars do only *incline*, and not *force*, the Actions or Wills of Men: And therefore, however, I may proceed by Right Rules, yet I cannot in Prudence ſo confidently aſſure the Events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have maturely conſider'd this Objection, which in ſome Caſes is of no little Weight: For Example; A Man may, by the Influence of an over-ruling Planet, be diſpoſed or inclined to Luſt, Rage, or Avarice, and yet by the Force of Reaſon overcome that bad Influence; and this was the Caſe of *Socrates*: But the great Events of the World uſually depend upon Numbers of Men, it cannot be expected they ſhould all unite to croſs their Inclinations, from purſuing a general Deſign, wherein they unanimouſly agree. Beſides, the Influence of the Stars reaches to many Actions

Actions and Events, which are not any Way in the Power of Reaſon; as Sickneſs, Death, and what we commonly call Accidents, with many more, needleſs to repeat.

BUT now it is time to proceed to my Predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the *Sun* enters into *Aries*. And this I take to be properly the Beginning of the natural Year. I purſue them to the Time that he enters *Libra*, or ſomewhat more, which is the buſy Period of the Year. The Remainder I have not yet adjuſted, upon Account of ſeveral Impediments needleſs here to mention: Beſides, I muſt remind the Reader again, that this is but a Specimen of what I deſign in ſucceeding Years to treat more at large, if I may have Liberty and Encouragement.

MY firſt Prediction is but a Trifle, yet I will mention it, to ſhew how ignorant theſe Sottiſh Pretenders to Aſtrology are in their own Concerns: It relates to *Partridge* the Almanack-

maker

maker; I have consulted the Stars of his Nativity by my own Rules, and find he will infallibly dye upon the 29th of *March* next, about Eleven at night, of a raging Fever; therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his Affairs in Time.

THE Month of *APRLL* will be observable for the Death of many great Persons. On the 4th, will dye the *Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris:* On the 11th, the young Prince of *Asturias*, Son to the Duke of *Anjou:* On the 14th, a great *Peer* of this Realm will dye at his Country House: On the 19th, an old *Layman* of great Fame for Learning; And on the 23d, an eminent Goldsmith in *Lombard-street.* I could mention others, both at Home and abroad, if I did not consider it is of very little Use or Instruction to the Reader, or to the World.

AS to Publick Affairs: On the 7th of this Month, there will be an Insurrection in *Dauphine*, occasion'd by the Oppressions of the People, which

which will not be quieted in ſome Months.

ON the 15th, will be a violent Storm on the South-Eaſt Coaſt of *France*, which will deſtroy many of their Ships, and ſome in the very Harbour.

THE 19th, will be famous for the Revolt of a whole Province or Kingdom, excepting one City, by which the Affairs of a certain Prince in the Alliance will take a better Face.

*MAY*, againſt common Conjectures, will be no very buſy Month in *Europe*, but very ſignal for the Death of the *Dauphin*, which will happen on the 7th, after a ſhort fit of Sickneſs, and grievous Torments with the Strangury. He dies leſs lamented by the Court, than the Kingdom.

ON the 9th, a *Mareſchal* of *France* will break his Leg by a Fall from his Horſe. I have not been able to diſcover whether he will then dye or not.

ON

ON the 11th, will begin a moſt important Siege, which the Eyes of all *Europe* will be upon: I cannot be more Particular, for in relating Affairs that ſo nearly concern the *Confederates*, and conſequently this Kingdom, I am forc'd to confine my ſelf, for ſeveral Reaſons very obvious to the Reader.

ON the 15th, News will arrive of a very *Surprizing Event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

ON the 19th, three Noble Ladies of this Kingdom will, againſt all Expectation prove with Child, to the great Joy of their Husbands.

ON the 23d, a famous Buffoon of the Play-houſe will dye a ridiculous Death, ſuitable to his Vocation.

*JUNE*. This Month will be diſtinguiſh'd at Home by the utter diſperſing of thoſe ridiculous deluded Enthuſiaſts, commonly call'd the *Pro-*

*phets*; occasion'd chiefly by seeing the Time come that many of their Prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary Events. It is indeed to be admir'd how any Deceiver can be so weak to foretel Things near at hand, when a very few Months must of Necessity discover the Imposture to all the World; in this Point less prudent than the common Almanack-Makers, who are so wise to wander in generals and talk dubiously, and leave to the Reader the Business of interpreting.

ON the 1st of this Month, a *French* General will be kill'd by a random Shot of a Cannon Ball.

ON the 6th, a Fire will break out in the Suburbs of *Paris*, which will destroy above a Thousand Houses, and seems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the Surprize of all *Europe*, about the End of the following Month.

ON

ON the 10th a great Battel will be fought, which will begin at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and last till Nine at Night with great Obstinacy, but no very decisive Event. I shall not name the Place, for the Reasons aforesaid; but the Commanders on each Left Wing will be killed. —— I see Bonfires, and hear the Noise of Guns for a Victory.

ON the 14th, there will be a false Report of the *French* King's Death.

ON the 20th, Cardinal *Portocarero* will dye of a Dissentery, with great Suspicion of Poison; but the Report of his Intentions to revolt to King *Charles*, will prove false.

*JULY.* The 6th of this Month, a *certain General* will, by a Glorious Action, recover the Reputation he lost by former Misfortunes.

ON the 12th, a *Great Commander* will dye a Prisoner in the Hands of his Enemies.

ON the 14th, a shameful Discovery will be made, of a *French* Jesuit giving Poison to a great Foreign General, and when he is put to the Torture, will make wonderful Discoveries.

IN short, this will prove a Month of great Action, if I might have Liberty to relate the Particulars.

AT Home, the Death of an old famous Senator will happen on the 25th at his Country House, worn with Age and Diseases.

BUT that which will make this Month memorable to all Posterity, is the Death of the *French* King *Lewis* the Fourteenth, after a Weeks Sickness at *Marli*, which will happen on the 29th, about Six a Clock in the Evening. It seems to be an Effect of the Gout in his Stomach, fol-

lowd

low'd by a Flux. And in Three Days after Monſieur *Chamillard* will follow his Maſter, dying ſuddenly of an Apoplexy.

IN this Month likewiſe an *Ambaſſador* will dye in *London*, but I cannot aſſign the Day.

*AUGUST.* The Affairs of *France* will ſeem to ſuffer no Change for a while under the Duke of *Burgundy's* Adminiſtration; but the Genius that animated the whole Machine being gone, will be the Cauſe of mighty Turns and Revolutions in the following Year. The New King makes yet little Change either in the Army or the Miniſtry, but the Libels againſt his Grandfather that fly about his very Court, give him Uneaſineſs.

I ſee an Expreſs in mighty Haſte, with Joy and Wonder in his Looks, arriving by Break of Day on the 26th of this Month, having travell'd in Three Days a prodigious Journey by Land and Sea. In the Evening I hear Bells and Guns,

and see the Blazing of a Thousand Bonfires.

A Young Admiral of noble Birth does likewise this Month gain immortal Honour by a great Atchievement.

THE Affairs of *Poland* are this Month entirely settl'd: *Augustus* resigns his Pretensions, which he had again taken up for some time: *Stanislaus* is peaceably possess'd of the Throne: And the King of *Sweden* declares for the Emperor.

I cannot omit one particular Accident here at Home, that near the End of this Month much Mischief will be done at *Bartholomew* Fair by the Fall of a Booth.

*SEPTEMBER.* This Month begins with a very surprizing Fit of Frosty Weather, which will last near 12 Days.

THE Pope having long languished last Month, the Swellings in his Legs breaking, and the Flesh Mortifying,

tifying, will die on the 11th Instant, and in three Weeks time, after a mighty Conteſt, be ſucceeded by a Cardinal of the *Imperial* Faction, but Native of *Tuſcany*, who is now about 61. Years old.

THE *French* Army Acts now wholly on the Defenſive, ſtrongly fortified in their Trenches; and the young *French* King ſends Overtures for a Treaty of Peace, by the Duke of *Mantua*; which, becauſe it is a matter of State that concerns us here at Home I ſhall ſpeak no farther of it.

I ſhall add but one Prediction more, and that in myſtical Terms, which ſhall be included in a Verſe out of *Virgil.*

*Alter erit jam Tethys, & altera quæ vehat Argo.*
*Dilectos Heroas.*

UPON the 25th Day of this Month, the fulfilling of this Prediction will be manifeſt to every Body.

THIS is the farthest I have proceeded in my Calculations for the present Year. I do not pretend, that these are all the great Events which will happen in this Period, but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It will perhaps still be objected, why I have not spoke more particularly of Affairs at Home, or of the Success of our Armies abroad, which I might and could very largely have done; but those in Power have wisely discourag'd Men from meddling in Publick Concerns, and I was resolv'd by no means to give the least Offence. This I will venture to say, That it will be a Glorious Campaign for the *Allies*, wherein the *English* Forces, both by Sea and Land, will have their full Share of Honour: That Her Majesty Queen ANNE will continue in Health and Prosperity; And, That no ill Accident will arrive to any in the Chief Ministry.

AS to the particular Events I have mention'd, the Readers may judge by

the fulfilling of 'em, whether I am of the Level with common Aſtrologers; who with an old paultry Cant, and a few Pot-hooks for Planets to amuſe the Vulgar, have in my Opinion, too long been ſuffer'd to abuſe the World: But an honeſt Phyſician ought not to be deſpis'd, becauſe there are ſuch Things as Mountebanks. I hope I have ſome Share of Reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a Frolick or Humour; And I believe no Gentleman, who reads this Paper, will look upon it to be of the ſame Caſt or Mould with the common Scribblers that are every Day hawk'd about. My Fortune has plac'd me above the little Regard of Scribbling for a few Pence, which I neither value nor want: Therefore let not wiſe Men too haſtily condemn this Eſſay, intended for a good Deſign to cultivate and improve an ancient Art, long in Diſgrace by having fallen into mean unſkilful Hands. A little Time will determine, whether I have deceiv'd others, or my ſelf; and I think it is no very unreaſonable Requeſt, that Men would pleaſe to

ſuſpend their Judgments till then. I was once of the Opinion with thoſe who deſpiſe all Predictions from the Stars, till in the Year 1686, a Man of Quality ſhew'd me written in his *Album*, That the moſt Learned Aſtronomer Captain *H.* aſſur'd him, He would never believe any thing of the Stars Influence, if there were not a great Revolution in *England* in the Year 1688. Since that Time I began to have other Thoughts, and after eighteen Years diligent Study and Application, I think I have no reaſon to repent of my Pains. I ſhall detain the Reader no longer than to let him know, that the Account I deſign to give of next Years Events ſhall take in the principal Affairs that happen in *Europe*; and if I be denied the Liberty of offering it to my own Country, I ſhall appeal to the Learn'd World, by publiſhing it in *Latin*, and giving order to have it printed in *Holland*.

THE

# THE ACCOMPLISHMENT Of the First of Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s Predictions,

Being an

# ACCOUNT

Of the Death of

Mr. PARTRIGE, the Almanack-maker,

Upon the 29th Inſtant.

*In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour.*

Written in the Year, 1708.

*My* LORD,

IN Obedience to your Lordſhip's Commands, as well as to ſatisfie my own Curioſity, I have for ſome Days paſt enquired conſtantly after *Partrige*, the Almanack-maker of whom it was foretold in Mr. *Bickerſtaff's*

*staff*'s Predictions, publish'd about a Month ago, that he should die the 29th Instant about 11 at Night of a Raging Fever. I had some sort of Knowledge of him when I was employ'd in the Revenue, because he used every Year to present me with his Almanack, as he did other Gentlemen, upon the Score of some little Gratuity we gave him: I saw him accidentally once or twice about 10 Days before he died, and observed he began very much to Droop and Languish, tho' I hear his Friends did not seem to apprehend him in any Danger. About Two or Three Days ago he grew Ill, was confin'd first to his Chamber, and in a few Hours after to his Bed, where Dr. *Cale* and Mrs. *Kirleus* were sent for, to Visit and to prescribe to him. Upon this Intelligence I sent thrice every Day one Servant or other to enquire after his Health; and yesterday, about Four in the Afternoon, Word was brought me that he was past Hope; upon which I prevailed with my self to go and see him, partly out of Commiseration, and, I con-

fess,

fess, partly out of Curiosity. He knew me very well, seem'd surprized at my Condescention, and made me Compliments upon it as well as he could in the Condition he was. The People about him said he had been for some time delirious; but when I saw him he had his Understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke Strong and Healty, without any seeming Uneasiness or Constraint. After I had told him how sorry I was to see him in those Melancholly Circumstances, and said some other Civilities, suitable to the Occasion, I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously whether the Predictions Mr. *Bickerstaff* had publish'd relating to his Death, had not too much affected and work'd on his Imagination. He confess'd he had often had it in his Head, but never with much Apprehension till about a Fortnight before; since which Time it had the perpetual Possession of his Mind and Thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural Cause of his present Distemper: For, said he, I am throughly perswaded, and I think I have

very

very good Reasons, that Mr. *Bickerstaff* spoke altogether by Guess, and knew no more what will happen this Year than I did my self. I told him his Discourse surprized me, and I would be glad he were in a State of Health to be able to tell me what Reason he had to be convinced of Mr. *Bickerstaff's* Ignorance. He reply'd I am a poor Ignorant Fellow, Bred to a Mean Trade, yet I have Sense enough to know that all Pretences of foretelling by Astrology are Deceits, for this Manifest Reason, because the Wise and the Learned, who can only know whether there be any Truth in this Science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and none but the Poor Ignorant Vulgar, give it any Credit and that only upon the Word of such silly Wretches as I and my Fellows, who can hardly Write or Read. I then ask'd him why he had not Calculated his own Nativity, to see whether it agreed with *Bickerstaff's* Prediction? At which he shook his Head, and said, O! Sir, this is no Time for Jesting, but for Repenting those Foole-

Fooleries, as I do now from the very Bottom of my Heart. By what I can gather from you, ſaid I, the Obſervations and Predictions you printed with your Almanacks were meer Impoſitions upon the People. He reply'd if it were otherwiſe I ſhould have the leſs to anſwer for. We have a Common Form for all thoſe Things; as to foretelling the Weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the Printer, who takes it out of any Old Almanack as he thinks fit; the reſt was my own Invention, to make my Almanack Sell, having a Wife to Maintain, and no other way to get my Bread, for mending Old Shoes is a poor Livelihood: And (added he, ſighing) I wiſh I may not have done more Miſchief by my Phyſick than my Aſtrology, tho I had ſome good Receipts from my Grandmother, and my own Compoſitions were ſuch as I thought could at leaſt do no Hurt.

I had ſome other Diſcourſes with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired

your

your Lordship. I shall only add One Circumstance, that on his Death-bed he declar'd himself a Nonconformist, and had a Fanatick Preacher to be his Spiritual Guide. After Half an Hour's Conversation I took my Leave, being half stifled by the Closeness of the Room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little Coffee-house hard by, leaving a Servant at the House with Orders to come immediately, and tell me as near as he could the Minute when *Partrige* should expire, which was not above Two Hours after; when looking upon my Watch, I found it to be above Five Minutes after Seven; by which it is clear that Mr. *Bickerstaff* was mistaken almost Four Hours in his Calculation. In the other Circumstances he was exact enough. But whether he has not been the Cause of this Poor Man's Death, as well as the Predictor, may be very reasonably disputed. However, it must be confess'd the Matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by Chance or the Effect of Imagination: For my

my own Part, tho' I believe no Man has leſs Faith in theſe matters, yet I ſhall wait with ſome Impatience, and not without Expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. *Bickerſtaff's* Second Prediction, that the Cardinal *De Noailles* is to die upon the 4th of *April*; and if that ſhould be verified as exactly as this of Poor *Partrige*, I muſt own I ſhould be wholly ſurprized, and at a loſs, and ſhould infallibly expect the Accompliſhment of all the reſt.

FINIS.

# A VINDICATION OF *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq;

AGAINST

What is Objected to Him by Mr. *Partrige*, in his Almanack for the preſent Year, 1709.

*By the ſaid* ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, *Eſq;*

Written in the Year, 1709.

MR. *Partrige* hath been lately pleaſed to treat me after a very rough Manner, in *that which is called* His Almanack for the preſent Year: Such Uſage is very undecent from *one Gentleman to another*, and does not at all contribute to the

Diſcovery of Truth, which ought to be the great End in all Diſputes of the *Learned*. To call a Man *Fool* and *Villain*, and *impudent Fellow*, only for differing from him in a Point merely Speculative, is, in my humble Opinion, a very improper Style for a Perſon of *his Education*. I appeal to the *Learned World*, whether in my laſt Years Predictions, I gave him the leaſt Provocation for ſuch unworthy Treatment. Philoſophers have differed in all Ages, but the diſcreeteſt among them have always differed as became Philoſophers. Scurrility and Paſſion, in a Controverſy among *Scholars*, is juſt ſo much of nothing to the Purpoſe, and at beſt, a tacit Confeſſion of a weak Cauſe: My Concern is not ſo much for my own Reputation, as that of the *Republick of Letters*, which Mr. *Partrige* hath endeavoured to wound thro' my Sides. If Men of publick Spirit muſt be ſuperciliouſly treated for their ingenuous Attempts, how will true uſeful Knowledge be ever advanc'd? I wiſh Mr. *Partrige* knew the Thoughts which *Foreign Univerſities*

*ſities* have conceived of his ungenerous Proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his Reputation to publiſh them to the World. That Spirit of Envy and Pride, which blaſts ſo many riſing Genius's in our Nation, is yet unknown among *Profeſſors* abroad; The Neceſſity of juſtifying my ſelf, will excuſe my Vanity, when I tell the Reader, that I have near a hundred *honorary* Letters from ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, (ſome as far as *Muſcovy*) in Praiſe of my Performance. Beſides ſeveral others which, as I have been credibly inform'd, were open'd in the Poſt-Office, and never ſent me. 'Tis true, the *Inquiſition* in *Portugal* was pleaſed to burn my Predictions, and condemn the Author and Readers of them; but I hope at the ſame time, it will be conſider'd in how deplorable a State *Learning* lies at preſent in that Kingdom: And with the profoundeſt Veneration for *Crown'd Heads*, I will preſume to add, that it a little concerned *His Majeſty of Portugal*, to interpoſe his Authority in behalf of a *Scholar* and a *Gentleman*, the Subject

of a Nation with which he is now in ſo ſtrict an Alliance. But the other Kingdoms and States of *Europe* have treated me with more Candor and Generoſity. If I had Leave to print the *Latin* Letters tranſmitted to me from Foreign Parts, they would fill a Volume, and be a full Defence againſt all that Mr. *Partrige*, or his Accomplices of the *Portugal Inquiſition*, will be ever able to Object; who, by the Way, are the only Enemies my Predictions have ever met with at Home or Abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the Honour of a *learned Correſpondence*, in ſo tender a Point. Yet ſome of thoſe illuſtrious Perſons will perhaps excuſe me from tranſcribing a Paſſage or two in my own Vindication. The moſt Learned Monſieur *Liebnits* thus addreſſes to me his Third Letter: *Illuſtriſſimo Bickerſtaffio Aſtrologiæ inſtauratori*, &c. Monſieur *le Clerc* quoting my Predictions in a Treatiſe he publiſhed laſt Year, is pleaſed to ſay, *Ità nuperimè Bickerſtaffius magnum illud Angliæ ſidus.* Another great Profeſſor writing of me, has theſe Words: *Bicker-*

*Bickerſtaffius, nobilis Anglus Aſtrologorum hujuſce Seculi facilè Princeps.* Signior *Magliabecchi*, the *Great Duke's* famous Library-Keeper, ſpends almoſt his whole Letter in Compliments and Praiſes. 'Tis true, the renowned *Profeſſor* of Aſtronomy at *Utretcht*, ſeems to differ from me in one Article; but it is after the modeſt Manner that becomes a Philoſopher; as, *Pace tanti viri dixerim:* And, *Page*, 55. he ſeems to lay the Error upon the Printer, (as indeed it ought) and ſays, *vel forſan error Typographi, cum alioquin Bickerſtaffius vir doctiſſimus*, &c..

IF Mr. *Partrige* had followed this Example in the Controverſy between us, he might have ſpared me the Trouble of juſtifying my ſelf in ſo publick a Manner. I believe few Men are readier to own their Errors than I, or more thankful to thoſe who will pleaſe to inform him of them. But it ſeems this Gentleman, inſtead of encouraging the Progreſs of his own Art is pleaſed to look upon all Attempts of that Kind as an Invaſion of his Province. He has been

indeed ſo wiſe, to make no Objection againſt the Truth of my Predictions, except in one ſingle Point, relating to himſelf: And to demonſtrate how much Men are Blinded by their own Partiality, I do ſolemnly aſſure the Reader, that he is the only Perſon from whom I ever heard that Objection offer'd; which Conſideration alone, I think, will take off all its Weight.

WITH my utmoſt Endeavours, I have not been able to trace above Two Objections ever made againſt the Truth of my laſt Year's Prophecies: The Firſt was of a *French* Man, who was pleaſed to publiſh to the World, That *the Cardinal* de Noailles *was ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the pretended Prophecy of Monſieur* Biquerſtaffe: But how far a *Frenchman, a Papiſt*, and an *Enemy*, is to be believed in his own Caſe, againſt an *Engliſh Proteſtant*, who is *true to the Government*, I ſhall leave to the candid and impartial Reader.

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THE other Objection is the unhappy Occaſion of this Diſcourſe, and relates to an Article in my Predictions, which foretold the Death of Mr. *Partrige* to happen on *March* 29, 1708. This he is pleaſed to contradict abſolutely in the Almanack he has publiſh'd for the preſent Year, and in that ungentlemanly Manner, (pardon the Expreſſion) as I have above related. In that Work, he very roundly aſſerts, That he *is not only now alive, but was likewiſe alive upon that very* 29*th of* March, *when I had foretold* he *ſhould die*. This is the Subject of the preſent Controverſy betweeen us; which I deſign to handle with all Brevity, Perſpicuity and Calmneſs: In this Diſpute, I am ſenſible, the Eyes not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*, will be upon us: And the *Learned* in every Country will, I doubt not, take Part on that Side where they find moſt Appearance of Reaſon and Truth.

WITHOUT entring into Criticiſms of *Chronology* about the Hour of his Death, I ſhall only prove, that Mr. *Partrige* is not alive. And my Firſt Argument is thus: Above a Thouſand Gentlemen having bought his Almanacks for this Year, meerly to find what he ſaid againſt me; at every Line they read, they would lift up their Eyes, and cry out, betwixt Rage and Laughter, *They were ſure no Man alive ever writ ſuch damn'd Stuff as this.* Neither did I ever hear that Opinion diſputed. So that Mr. *Partrige* lies under a *Dilemma*, either of diſowning his Almanack, or allowing himſelf to be, *No Man alive.* But now if an *uninformed* Carcaſs walks ſtill about, and is pleaſed to call it ſelf *Partrige*, Mr. *Bickerſtaff* does not think himſelf any way anſwerable for that. Neither had the ſaid Carcaſs any Right to beat the poor Body, who happen'd to paſs by it in the Street, crying, *A full and true Account of* Dr. Partrige's *Death*, &c.

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SECONDLY, Mr. *Partrige* pretends to tell Fortunes, and recover ſtolen Goods; which all the Pariſh ſays he muſt do by converſing with the Devil, and other evil Spirits: And no wiſe Man will ever allow he could converſe perſonally with either, till after he was dead.

THIRDLY, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own Almanack for this Year, and from the very Paſſage which he produces to make us think him alive. He there ſays, *He is not only now alive, but was alſo alive upon that very 29th of* March, *which I foretold* he *ſhould die on*: By this, he declares his Opinion, That a Man may be alive now, who was not alive a Twelve-month ago. And indeed, there lies the Sophiſtry of his Argument. He dares not aſſert, he was alive ever ſince that 29th of *March*, but that he *is now alive, and was ſo on that day*: I grant the latter; for he did not die till Night, as appears by the printed Account of his Death, in *a Letter to a Lord*; and

and whether he is ſince revived, I leave the World to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am aſhamed to dwell any longer upon it.

FOURTHLY, I will appeal to Mr *Partrige* himſelf, whether it be probable I could have been ſo indiſcreet, to begin my Predictions with the *only* Falſhood that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an Affair at Home, where I had ſo many Opportunities to be exact; and muſt have given ſuch Advantages againſt me to a Perſon of Mr. *Partrige*'s Wit and Learning, who if he could poſſibly have raiſed one ſingle Objection more againſt the Truth of my Prophecies, would hardly have ſpared me.

AND here I muſt take Occaſion to reprove the abovementioned Writer of the Relation of Mr. *Partrige*'s Death, in a *Letter to a Lord*; who was pleaſed to tax me with a Miſtake of *Four whole Hours* in my Calculation of that Event. I muſt confeſs, this Cenſure, pronounced with an Air of

of Certainty, in a Matter that ſo nearly concerned me, and by a *grave judicious Author*, moved me not a little. But tho' I was at that Time out of Town, yet ſeveral of my Friends, whoſe Curioſity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own Part, having no Doubt at all in the Matter, I never once thought of it) aſſured me I computed to ſomething under half an Hour, which (I ſpeak my private Opinion) is an Error of no very great Magnitude, that Men ſhould raiſe Clamour about it. I ſhall only ſay, it would not be amiſs, if that Author would henceforth be more tender of other Men's Reputation as well as his own. It is well there were no more Miſtakes of that kind; if there had, I preſume he would have told me of them with as little Ceremony.

THERE is one Objection againſt Mr. *Partrige's* Death, which I have ſometimes met with, tho' indeed very ſlightly offered; That he ſtill continues to write Almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all

all of that Profeſſion; *Gadbury*, *Poor Robin*, *Dove*, *Wing*, and ſeveral others, do yearly publiſh their Almanacks, tho' ſeveral of them have been dead ſince before the *Revolution*. Now the Natural Reaſon of this, I take to be, that whereas it is the Privilege of other Authors, *to live after their Deaths*; Almanack-makers are alone excluded, becauſe their Diſſertations treating only upon the Minutes as they paſs, become uſeleſs as thoſe go off. In Conſideration of which, *Time*, whoſe *Regiſters* they are, gives them a Leaſe in Reverſion, to continue their Works after their Death.

I ſhould not have given the Publick, or my ſelf, the trouble of this Vindication, if my Name had not been made uſe of by ſeveral Perſons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleaſed to father on me a new Set of Predictions. But I think thoſe are Things too Serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the Heart, when I ſaw my Labours, which had coſt me

ſo

ſo much Thought and Watching, bawl'd about by common Hawkers, which I only intended for the weighty Conſideration of the graveſt Perſons. This prejudiced the World ſo much at firſt, that ſeveral of my Friends had the Aſſurance to ask me, Whether I were in Jeſt? To which I only anſwered coldly, *That the Event would ſhew.* But it is the Talent of our Age and Nation to turn Things of the greateſt Importance into Ridicule. When the End of the Year had *verified all my Predictions*, out comes Mr. *Partrige*'s Almanack, diſputing the Point of his Death; ſo that I am employed. like the General who was forced to kill his Enemies twice over, whom a *Necromancer* had raiſed to Life. If Mr. *Partrige* has practiſed the ſame Experiment upon himſelf, and be again alive, long may he continue ſo; that does not in the leaſt contradict my Veracity: But I think I have clearly proved, By *invincible Demonſtration*, that he died at fartheſt within half an Hour of the Time

Time I foretold, and not Four Hours ſooner, as the abovementioned Author in his Letter to a Lord hath Maliciouſly Suggeſted, with deſign to blaſt my Credit, by charging me with ſo groſs a Miſtake.

*FINIS.*

A

# Famous Prediction

OF

# MERLIN,

THE

# *BRITISH* Wizard.

Written above a Thousand Years ago, and relating to this Present Year, 1709.

With Explanatory Notes. By *T. N.* Philomath.

LAST Year was publish'd a Paper of Predictions pretended to be written by one *Isaac Bickerstaff* Esq; but the true Design of it was to ridicule the Art of Astrology, and expose its Professors as Ignorant

or Impostors. Against this Imputation, Dr. *Partrige* hath vindicated himself in his Almanack for the Present Year.

FOR a farther Vindication of this famous Art, I have thought fit to present the World with the following Prophecy. The Original is said to be of the famous *Merlin*, who lived about a Thousand Years ago: And the following Translation is Two Hundred Years old; for it seems to be written near the End of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign. I found it in an old Edition of *Merlin's* Prophecies; imprinted at *London* by *Johan Haukyns*, in the Year 1530. *Page* 39. I set it down Word for Word in the Old Orthography, and shall take leave to subjoin a few Explanatory Notes.

Seven and Ten addyd to nine,
Of Fraunce hir woe thys is the tyme,
Tamys rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke fans wetyng Shoes ne hozen.

Then.

Then cumyth fourthe, Ich underſtonde,
From Colme of Stolle to Tattyn Londe,
An herdie Chiftan, woe the morne
To Fraunce, that evere he was borne.
Than ſhall the Fyſhe beweyle his Bolle;
Nor ſhall grein Berrys make up the Lolle.
Yonge Symnele ſhall again miſmarrye:
And Norways pryd again ſhall marrey.
And from the Tree where Bloſſums fele,
Ripe fruit ſhall come, and all is wele.
Reaums ſhall daunce honde in honde,
And it ſhall be merye in old Inglonde.
Then old Inglonde ſhall be no more,
And no Man ſhall be ſorie therefore.
Geryon ſhall have three Hedes agayne,
Till Hapsburge makyth them but twayne.

## Explanatory Notes.

**Seven and Ten.** THIS Line deſcribes the Year when theſe Events ſhall happen. Seven and Ten makes Seventeen, which I explain Seven-

teen Hundred, and this Number added to Nine, makes the Year we are now in; for it muſt be underſtood of the Natural Year, which begins the Firſt of *January*.

**Cayms Rybere twys**, &c. THE River *Thames* frozen twice in one Year, ſo as Men to walk on it, is a very ſignal Accident; which perhaps hath not fallen out for ſeveral Hundred Years before, and is the Reaſon why ſome Aſtrologers have thought that this Prophecy could never be fulfilled, becauſe they imagined ſuch a Thing would never happen in our Climate.

**From Coune of Stulle**, &c. THIS is a plain Deſignation of the Duke of *Marlborough*; One kind of Stuff uſed to faſten Land is called *Marle*, and every body knows that *Borough* is a Name for a Town; and this way of Expreſſion is after the uſual dark Manner of Old Aſtrological Predictions.

Then

**Then shall the Fyshe**, &c. BY the *Fiſh* is underſtood the *Dolphin* of *France*, as their Kings Eldeſt Sons are called: 'Tis here ſaid, he ſhall lament the Loſs of the Duke of *Burgundy*, called the *Boſſe*, which is an Old *Engliſh* Word for *Hump-ſhoulder*, or *Crook-Back*; as that Duke is known to be; and the Prophecy ſeems to mean, that he ſhall be overcome or ſlain. By the *Green Berrys* in the next Line is meant the young Duke of *Berry*, the *Dauphin's* Third Son, who ſhall not have Valour, or Fortune enough to ſupply the Loſs of his Eldeſt Brother.

**Young Symnele**, &c. BY *Symnel* is meant the Pretended Prince of *Wales*, who if he offers to attempt any thing againſt *England*, ſhall miſcarry as he did before. *Lambert Symnel* is the Name of a young Man noted in our Hiſtories for Perſonating the Son (as I remember) of *Edward* the Fourth.

**And Norways pryd**, &c. I cannot gueſs who is meant by *Norway's Pride*, perhaps the Reader may, as well as the Senſe of the Two following Lines.

**Reaums ſhall**, &c. *REAUMS*, or, as the Word is now, *Realms*, is the Old Name for *Kingdoms*: And this is a very plain Prediction of our Happy *Union*, with the Felicities that ſhall attend it. It is added, That *Old England* ſhall be no more, and yet no Man ſhall be ſorry for it. And indeed, properly ſpeaking, *England* is now no more, for the whole Iſland is one Kingdom, under the Name of *Britain*.

**Geryon ſhall**, &c. THIS Prediction, though ſomewhat obſcure, is wonderfully adapt. *Geryon* is ſaid to have been a King of *Spain*, whom *Hercules* ſlew. It was a Fiction of the Poets, that he had Three Heads, which the Author ſays he ſhall have again. That is, *Spain* ſhall have Three Kings; which is now wonderfully veri-

verify'd: For beſides the King of *Portugal*, which properly is part of *Spain*, there are now Two Rivals for *Spain*; *Charles* and *Philip*. But *Charles* being deſcended from the Count of *Hapſburgh*, Founder of the *Auſtrian* Family, ſhall ſoon make thoſe Heads but Two; by Overcoming *Philip*, and Driving him out of *Spain*.

SOME of theſe Predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the reſt may be in due time: And, I think, I have not forced the Words by my Explication into any other Senſe than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am ſure it muſt be alſo allow'd, that the Author, whoever he were, was a Perſon of extraordinary Sagacity; And that Aſtrology brought to ſuch Perfection as this, is by no means an Art to be deſpis'd; whatever Mr. *Bickerſtaff*, or other Merry Gentlemen are pleaſed to think. As to the Tradition of theſe Lines having been writ in the Original by *Merlin*; I confeſs, I lay not much Weight upon it: But it is enough

to justify their Authority, that the Book from whence I have transcrib'd them, was printed 170 Years ago, as appears by the Title-Page. For the Satisfaction of any Gentleman, who may be either Doubtful of the Truth, or Curious to be inform'd; I shall give order to have the very Book sent to the Printer of this Paper, with Directions to let any Body see it that pleases; because, I believe it is pretty scarce.

FINIS.

[illegible]

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*THE following Letter is supposed by some judicious Persons to be of the same Author, and if their Conjectures be right, it will be no disadvantage to him to have it here revived, considering the Time when it was Writ, the Persons then at the Helm, and the Designs in Agitation, against which this Paper so boldly appeared. I have been assured that the Suspicion which the supposed Author lay under for writing this Letter, absolutely ruined him with the late M——stry. I have taken Leave to omit about a Page which was purely Personal, and of no use to the Subject.*

A LET-

A

# LETTER

*From a Member of the Houſe of Commons in* Ireland, *to a Member of the Houſe of Commons in* England, *concerning the* SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the Year, 1708.

*SIR,*

I Received your Letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange Repreſentations made of us on your ſide of the Water. The Inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is that of the Presbyterian *Miſſionary*, who according

ing to your Phraſe, hath been lately *Perſecuted* in *Drogheda* for his Religion; But it is eaſie to obſerve, how mighty Induſtrious ſome People have been for Three or Four Years past, to hand about Stories of the Hardſhips, the Merits, the Number and the Power of the *Presbyterians* in *Ireland*, to raiſe formidable Idea's of the Dangers of *Popery* there, and to tranſmit all for *England*, improved by great Additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted with Comments in thoſe infamous weekly Papers that infeſt your Coffee-Houſes. So, when the Clauſe Enacting a *Sacramental Teſt* was put in Execution, it was given out in *England*, that half the Juſtices of Peace through this Kingdom had laid down their Commiſſions; whereas upon Examination, the whole Number was found to amount only to a Dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in Fortune and Underſtanding, and ſome of them Superannuated. So, when the Earl of *P———ke* was in *Ireland* and the Parliament Sitting, a formal Story was very gravely carried to his Excel-

Excellency by ſome Zealous Members, of a Prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the North-weſt parts of *Ireland*, who had publickly Preached to his People, to fall a murthering the Proteſtants; which tho' invented to ſerve an End they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, it was preſently handed over, and Printed with ſhrewd Remarks by your worthy Scribblers. In like manner, the Account of that Perſon who was lately expelled our Univerſity for Reflecting on the Memory of King *William*, what a Duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in Memory. Neither would People be convinced till the Univerſity was at the pains of Publiſhing a Latin Paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this Story of the *Perſecution* at *Drogheda*, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what Conſequences drawn from it, and what Reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now if the End of all this Proceeding were a Secret and Myſtery, I ſhould not undertake to give an Interpretation,

tation, but Care has been taken, to give it ſufficient Explanation; Firſt by Addreſſes, Artificially (if not, Illegally) procured to ſhew the miſerable State of the *Diſſenters* in *Ireland* by reaſon of the *Sacramental Teſt*, and to deſire the Queen's Interceſſion that it might be repealed. Then it is manifeſt that our S——r when he was laſt Year in *England*, Sollicited in Perſon ſeveral Members of both Houſes, to have it Repealed by an Act there, though it be a matter purely National, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the Trade and Intereſt of *England*, and tho' he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt Zealous of all Men againſt the Injuſtice of binding a Nation by Laws to which they do not conſent. And laſtly, thoſe weekly Libellers whenever they get a Tale by the end relating to *Ireland*, without ever troubling their Thoughts about the Truth, always end it with an Application againſt the *Sacramental Teſt*, and the abſolute Neceſſity there is of Repealing it in both Kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch

ſuch Trifles as are below a ſerious Man's Notice, much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any Party to think they would chuſe the Vileſt and moſt Ignorant among Mankind to employ them for Aſſerters of a Cauſe; I ſhall only ſay, that the Scandalous Liberty thoſe Wretches take would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with Opinions that *ſome Men* would be glad to Advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe Papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the Underſtandings of a great Number, they are grown a neceſſary Part in Coffee-houſe Furniture, and ſome time or other happen to be Read by Cuſtomers of all Ranks, for Curioſity or Amuſement; becauſe they lie always in the Way. One of theſe Authors (the Fellow that was *Pillory'd*, I have forgot his Name) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a Rogue, that there is no enduring him; the *Obſervator* is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in Lyes and Impudence than his *Preſbyterian* Brother. The Reaſon why I mention him, is to have an Occaſion

of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel Caſe; Laſt Year, a Paper was brought here from *England* called, *A Dialogue between the A. Bp. of* Canterbury *and Mr.* Higgins, which we ordered to be Burnt by the Common Hangman, as it well deſerved, tho' we have no more to do with his Grace of *Canterbury* than you have with the A. Bp. of *Dublin*; nor can you Love and Reverence your Prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by Name, by that Paultry Raſcal of an *Obſervator*; and lately upon an Affair wherein he had no Concern; I mean the Buſineſs of the *Miſſionary* at *Droghedah*, wherein our excellent *Primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to Law and Diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord A. Bp. of *Dublin* hath been upon ſeveral Occaſions of late Years miſrepreſented in *England*; I would willingly ſet you right in his Character. For his great Sufferings and eminent Services, he was by the late King promoted to the See of *Derry*. About the

the ſame time he wrote a Book to Juſtify the Revolution, wherein was an Account of King *James*'s Proceedings in *Ireland*, and the late A. Bp. *Tillotſon* recommended it to the King as the moſt Serviceable Treatiſe that could have been Publiſhed at ſuch a Juncture. And as his Grace ſet out upon thoſe Principles, he has proceeded ſo ever ſince, as a Loyal Subject to the Queen, entirely for the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and for ever excluding the *Pretender*; and tho' a firm Friend to the Church, yet with Indulgence towards Diſſenters, as appears from his Conduct at *Derry*, where he was ſettled for many Years among the moſt virulent Sect; yet upon his Removal to *Dublin*, they parted from him with Tears in their Eyes, and univerſal Acknowledgments of his Wiſdom and Goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be own'd, he does not buſie himſelf by entring deep into any Party, but rather ſpends his Time in Acts of Hoſpitality and Charity, in building of Churches, repairing his Palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt Perſons he can find,

without other Regards; in ſhort, in the Practice of all Virtues that can become a Publick or private Life. This and more, if poſſible, is due to ſo excellent a Perſon, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt and moſt Learned Prelates of his Age, however his Character may be Defiled by ſuch mean and dirty Hands as thoſe of the *Obſervator* or ſuch as employ him.

I now come to anſwer the other Part of your Letter, and ſhall give you my Opinion freely about Repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*; only whereas you deſire my Thoughts as a Friend, and not as I am a Member of Parliament, I muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both Capacities.

I muſt begin by telling you, we are generally ſurprized at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this Occaſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our Intereſts in a point where we are ſo unable to ſee it our ſelves. This hath given us ſome ſuſpicion; and

and tho' in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern your ſelves in our Affairs, it is certainly *for our Good*, yet I have the misfortune to be ſomething ſingular in this Belief, and therefore I never attempted to juſtify it, but content my ſelf to poſſeſs my own Opinion in private, for fear of encountring Men of more Wit or Words than I have to ſpare.

WE at this diſtance who ſee nothing of the Spring of Actions, are forced by meer Conjecture to aſſign two Reaſons for your deſiring us to repeal the *Sacramental Teſt*; one is, becauſe you are ſaid to imagine it will be one ſtep towards the like *good Work* in *England*. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for Rewarding *ſeveral Perſons* who have well deſerved upon a *great Occaſion*, but who are now unqualified thro' that Impediment.

I do not frequently quote Poets, eſpecially *Engliſh*, but I remember there is in ſome of Mr. *Cowley*'s Love-

Verſes, a Strain that I thought extraordinary at Fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by *Ireland.*

*Forbid it Heaven my Life ſhould be*
*Weigh'd with her leaſt Conveniency.*

IN ſhort, whatever Advantage you propoſe to your ſelves by repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly, 'tis the beſt Argument you can uſe, for we value your Intereſt much more than our own; if your little Finger be Sore, and you think a Poltice made of our *Vitals* will give it any Eaſe, ſpeak the Word and it ſhall be done; The Intereſt of our whole Kingdom is at any time ready to Strike to that of your pooreſt *Fiſhing Towns*; it is hard you will not accept our Services, unleſs we believe at the ſame Time that you are only conſulting our Profit, and giving us Marks of your Love. If there be a Fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my Houſe before there be Occaſion, becauſe you are a Man of Quality, and apprehend

ſome

ſome danger to a *Corner of your Stable*; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next Morning at your Levee, with my humble Thanks for the Favour you have done me?

IF we might be allowed to judge for our ſelves, we had abundance of Benefit by the *Sacramental Teſt*, and foreſee a number of Miſchiefs would be the Conſequence of Repealing it, and we conceive the Objections made againſt it by the *Diſſenters* are of no manner of force; they tell us of their Merits in the Late War in *Ireland*, and how chearfully they Engaged for the Safety of the Nation; that had they thought they had been Fighting only other Peoples Quarrels, perhaps it might have cool'd their Zeal; and that for the future they ſhall ſit down quietly and let us do our Work our ſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up Arms under the Penalty of High-Treaſon.

NOW ſuppoſing them to have done their Duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the *Fly on the Wheel*; I thought *Liberty*, *Property*, and *Religion*, had been the Three Subjects of the Quarrel; and have not all thoſe been amply ſecured to them? Had they at that Time a *Mental Reſervation* for *Power* and *Employments*? And muſt thoſe Two Articles be added henceforward in our National Quarrels? It is grown a mighty Conceit among ſome Men to melt down the Phraſe of a *Church Eſtabliſhed by Law* into that of *the Religion of the Magiſtrate*; of which Appellation it is eaſier to find the Reaſon than the Senſe: If by the *Magiſtrate* they mean the *Prince*, the Expreſſion includes a Falſhood; for when King *James* was *Prince*, the Eſtabliſhed Church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame Word they mean the Legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this Kingdom believe the Church of *Ireland* to be the National Church, and the only one Eſtabliſhed by Law, and

are

are willing by the ſame Law to give a *Toleration* to Diſſenters; but if once we Repeal out *Sacramental Teſt*, and grant a *Toleration*, or ſuſpend the Execution of the Penal Laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any Eſtabliſhed Church remaining; or rather why there will not be as many Eſtabliſhed Churches as there are Sects of Diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will be the National Church, becauſe your Biſhops and Clergy are maintain'd by the Publick; But, *That* I ſuppoſe will be of no long Duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould, becauſe to ſpeak in *Tindall's* Phraſe, it is not reaſonable that Revenues ſhould be annexed to one Opinion more than another, when all are equally Lawful; and 'tis that Author's Maxim, That no Free-born Subject ought to Pay for maintaining Speculations he does not believe. *But why ſhould any Man, upon Account of Opinions he cannot help, be deprived the Opportunity of Serving his Queen and Country?* Their Zeal is commendable, and when Employments go a begging for want of Hands, they

ſhall be ſure to have the Refuſal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon Maxims that equally include *Atheiſts*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels* and *Hereticks*, or which is ſtill more dangerous, even *Papiſts* themſelves; The former you allow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own a Foreign Power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their Religion can ſuit with Free-States, with Limited or Abſolute Monarchies, as well as a Better; and the *Pope*'s Power in *France* is but a ſhadow; ſo that upon this Foot there need be no great Danger to the Conſtitution by admitting Papiſts to Employments. I will help you to enough of them ſhall be ready to allow the *Pope* as little Power here as you pleaſe; and the bare Opinion of his being Vicar of Chriſt is but a *Speculative Point*, for which no Man it ſeems ought to be deprived the Capacity of Serving his Country.

BUT

BUT if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great Objection we have againſt Repealing this ſame *Sacramental Teſt.* It is, that we are verily perſwaded the Conſequence will be an entire Alteration of Religion among us in a no great Compaſs of Years. And, pray obſerve how we reaſon here in *Ireland* upon this Matter.

WE obſerve the *Scots* in our Northern Parts, to be a Brave, Induſtrious People, extreamly devoted to their Religion, and full of an *undiſturbed* Affection towards each other. Numbers of that Noble Nation, invited by the Fertilities of Soil, are glad to exchange their Barren Hills of *Louquabar*, by a Voyage of Three Hours, for our Fruitful Vales of *Doun* and *Antrim*, ſo productive of that *Grain*, which at little Trouble and leſs Expence finds Diet and Lodging for themſelves and their Cattle. Theſe People, by their extream Parſimony, wonderful *Dexterity in Dealing*, and firm Adherence to one another, ſoon

grow into Wealth from the *ſmalleſt Beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new Supplies; Beſides when they are the ſuperior Number in any Tract of Ground, they are not *over-patient of Mixture*; but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimilate*, ſoon find it their Intereſt to remove. I have done all in my Power on ſome Land of my own to preſerve Two or Three *Engliſh* Fellows in their Neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, tho' one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his Court by turning Presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland* a moſt formidable Notion of our Church, which they look upon at leaſt three Degrees worſe than Popery; and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that Spirit which taught them to aboliſh Epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the Gentlemen of Employments here, make a very conſiderable Number in the Houſe of Commons,

mons, and have no *other Merit* but that of doing their Duty in their ſeveral Stations; therefore when the Teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give Place to thoſe who have much *greater Services* to plead. The Commiſſions of the Revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of, and the Collectors and other Officers throughout the Kingdom are generally appointed by the Commiſſioners, which give them a mighty Influence in every Country. As much may be ſaid of the great Officers in the Law; and when this Door is open to let Diſſenters into the Commiſſions of the Peace, to make them High-Sheriffs, Mayors of Corporations, and Officers of the Army and Militia; I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their Induſtry and our Supineneſs, but that they may in a very few Years grow to a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, and conſequently make themſelves the National Religion, and have a fair Pretence to demand the Revenues of the Church for their Teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe,

yet

yet the Presbyterian Religion could never be made the National by Act of Parliament, becauſe our Biſhops are ſo great a Number in the Houſe of Lords, and without a Majority there, the Church could not be Aboliſhed. But I have *two very good Expedients* for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare Swear our Sp--k-r here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at *One of them* ſo lately. That this deſign is not ſo foreign from *ſome Peoples* Thoughts, I muſt let you know that an honeſt *Bell-weather* of our Houſe (you have him now in *England*, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the Impudence ſome Years ago, in Parliament time, to ſhake my Lord Biſhop of *Killaloo* by his Lawn Sleeve, and tell him in a threatning Manner, *That he hoped to live to ſee the Day when there ſhould not be One of his Order in the Kingdom.*

THESE laſt Lines perhaps you think a Digreſſion; therefore to return, I have told you the Conſequences we fully reckon upon from Repeal-

Repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, which although the greateſt Number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of Pain about, and many of them care not Three-Pence whether there be any *Church* or no; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from Conſcience as well as Policy and Intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

NOW, Sir, in Anſwer to your Queſtion, Whether if an Attempt ſhould be made here for Repealing the *Sacramental Teſt*, it would be likely to Suceeed? The Number of Profeſt Diſſenters in this Parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a Dozen, and I cannot call to mind above Thirty others who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian Party having with great Induſtry muſtered up their Forces, did endeavour one Day upon Occaſion of a Hint in my Lord *P——ke*'s Speech, to introduce a Debate about Repealing the *Teſt Clauſe*, when there appeared at leaſt Four to One Odds againſt them; and the ableſt

bleſt of thoſe who were reckoned the moſt ſtanch and thorough-pac'd *Whigs* upon all other Occaſions, fell off with an Abhorrence at the firſt mention of this.

I muſt deſire you to take Notice, that the Terms of *Whig* and *Tory*, do not properly expreſs the different Intereſts in our Parliament. I remember when I was laſt in *England*, I told the King, that the higheſt Tories we had with us, would make tolerable Whigs there; this was certainly right, and ſtill in the general continues ſo, unleſs you have ſince admitted new Characteriſticks, which did not come within our Definition. Whoever bears a true Veneration for the Glorious Memory of K. *William*, as our great Deliverer from Popery and Slavery; whoever is firmly Loyal to our preſent Queen, with an utter Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the Pretender; whoever approves the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and is for preſerving the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, with an *Indulgence* for

for Scrupulous Conſciences, ſuch a Man we think acts upon right Principles, and may be juſtly allowed a *Whig*; And I believe there are not Six Members in our Houſe of Commons, who may not fairly come under this Deſcription. So that the Parties among us are made up on one Side of *Moderate Whigs*, and on the other, of *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*, by which laſt I mean ſuch who can equally go to a *Church* or *Conventicle*, or ſuch who are indifferent to all Religion in general; or laſtly, ſuch who affect to bear a Perſonal Rancor towards the Clergy; Theſe laſt are a Set of Men not of our own Growth, their Principles at leaſt have been *imported* of late Years; Yet this whole Party put together will hardly, I am confident, amount to above Fifty Men in Parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a Majority of Three Hundred.

AS to the Houſe of Lords, the Difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in Ours. So many of our Temporal Peers live in *England*, that

the Biſhops are generally pretty near a *Par* of the Houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a Man againſt Repealing the *Teſt*, and yet their Lordſhips are generally thought as good Whigs upon our Principles as any in the Kingdom. There are indeed a few Lay Lords who appear to have no great Devotion for Epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more with whom *certain powerful Motives* might be uſed for removing any Difficulty whatſoever; But theſe are in no Sort of a Number to carry any Point againſt a Conjunction of the reſt of the whole Bench of Biſhops.

BESIDES, the whole Body of our Clergy are utterly againſt Repealing the *Teſt*, though they are entirely Devoted to Her Majeſty, and hardly One in a Hundred who are not very good *Whigs* in our Acceptation of the Word. And I muſt let you know, that we of *Ireland* are not yet come up to *other Folks Refinements*, for we generally Love and Eſteem our Clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay we are apt to lay ſome Weight upon their

their Opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt unleſs it were upon ſome greater Point of Intereſt than this. And their Judgment in the preſent Affairs is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt Perſons who will be affected by it; This makes us think them Impartial, and that their Concern is only for Religion and the Intereſt of the Kingdom. Becauſe the Act which Repeals the *Teſt*, will only qualify a *Layman* for an Employment, but not a *Presbyterian* or *Anabaptiſt* Parſon for a Church Living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that ſeveral Members of our Houſe, and my ſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the Anvil, went to all the Clergy we knew of any Diſtinction, and deſired their Judgment in the Matter, wherein we found a moſt wonderful Agreement; there being but *One Divine* that we could hear of in the whole Kingdom, who appeared of a contrary Sentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the *Convocation*, very little

to

to his *Credit*, tho' as he hoped, very much to his *Intereſt*.

I will now conſider a little the Arguments offered to ſhew the Advantages, or rather the Neceſſity of Repealing the *Teſt in Ireland*. We are told, the Popiſh Intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all Hands ſhould be joined to keep it under, that the only Names of Diſtinctions among us ought to be thoſe of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, and that this Expedient is the only means to *unite* all Proteſtants upon one common Bottom. All which is nothing but Miſrepreſentation and Miſtake.

If we were under any real Fear of the Papiſts in this Kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, not to be equally apprehenſive with *others*, ſince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more immediate Sufferers: But on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconſiderable as the Women and Children. Their Lands are moſt entirely taken from them, and they are rendred uncapable of

of Purchaſing any more; and for the little that remains, Proviſion is made by the late Act againſt Popery, that it will daily crumble away: To prevent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them are already turned Proteſtants, and ſo in all Probability will many more. Then, the Popiſh Prieſts are all Regiſtred, and without Permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no Succeſſors; ſo that the Proteſtant Clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great Numbers over to the Church; and in the mean time, the common People, without Leaders, without Diſcipline, or natural Courage, being little better than *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*, are out of all Capacity of doing any Miſchief, if they were ever ſo well inclin'd. Neither are they at all likely to join in any conſiderable Numbers with an *Invader*, having found ſo ill Succeſs when they were much more Numerous and Powerful; when they had a Prince of their own Religion to Head them, had been train'd for ſome Years under a *Popiſh*

*Deputy*, and received ſuch mighty Aids from the *French* King.

AS to that Argument uſed for Repealing the *Teſt*, that it will unite all the Proteſtants againſt the *Common Enemy*; I wonder by what Figure thoſe Gentlemen Speak, who are pleaſed to advance it: Suppoſe, in order to increaſe the Friendſhip between you and me, a Law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have half your Eſtate; do you think that would much advance the Union between us? Or ſuppoſe I ſhare my Fortune equally between my own *Children* and a *Stranger* whom I take into my Protection; will that be a Method to unite them? 'Tis an odd way of uniting Parties, to deprive a *Majority* of part of their antient Right, by conferring it on a *Faction* who had never any Right at all, and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any Loſs or Injury if it be refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome People may ſtretch the Term of *Common Enemy*. How many are there of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, who look upon our Worſhip

to be Idolatrous as well as that of the Papists, and with great Charity put *Prelacy* and *Popery* together as Terms convertible.

AND therefore there is one small Doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the Repealing of the *Test*; that is, whether, these same *Protestants*, when they have by their Dexterity made themselves the National Religion, and disposed the Church Revenues among their *Pastors* or *themselves*; will be so kind to allow *us Dissenters*, I do not say a Share in Employments, but a bare *Toleration* by Law. The Reason of my Doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to Read above Fifty Pamphlets, written by as many Presbyterian Divines, loudly disclaiming this Idol *Toleration*, some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *Rag of Popery*, and all agreeing, it was to *establish Iniquity by Law*. Now I would be glad to know when and where *their Successors* have renounced this Doctrine, and before what Witnesses. Because methinks I should be

loth to ſee my poor Titular Biſhop, *in partibus*, ſeized on by Miſtake in the Dark for a Jeſuit, or be forced my ſelf to keep a Chaplain diſguiſed like my Buttler, and ſteal to Prayers in a back Room, as my Grandfather uſed in thoſe Times when the Church of *England* was *Malignant*.

BUT this is ripping up old Quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the *Common Enemy*, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in Hiſtory with the perpetual Folly of thoſe States, who call in Foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a *Common Enemy*: But the Miſchief was, theſe *Allies* would never be brought to allow that the Common Enemy was quite ſubdued. And they had Reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one Part of the Common Enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the *Allies* became at length the *Maſters*.

'TIS agreed among Naturaliſts, that a *Lion* is a Larger, a Stronger, and more dangerous Enemy than a *Cat*; yet if a Man were to have his Choice, either

either a *Lion* at his Foot, bound faſt with Three or Four Chains, his Teeth drawn out, and his Claws pared to the Quick, or an angry *Cat* in full Liberty at his Throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonderful Significancy of that Word *Perſecution*, and what various Interpretations it hath acquired even within my Memory. When I was a Boy, I often heard the Presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to ſerve God in their own way; they ſaid they did not grudge us our Employments, but thought that all Men who live peaceably ought to have Liberty of Conſcience, and Leave to Aſſemble. That Impediment being removed at the Revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the *Sacramental Teſt*, and began to take very large Steps, wherein all that offered to oppoſe them, were called Men of a *Perſecuting Spirit*. During the time the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity was on foot, *Perſecution* was every Day rung in our Ears, and now

at laſt the *Sacramental Teſt* it ſelf has the ſame Name. Where then is this Matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one Requeſt is only uſed as a Step to demand another? A Lover is ever complaining of *Cruelty* while any thing is denied him; and when the Lady ceaſes to be *Cruel*, ſhe is from the next Moment at his Mercy: So *Perſecution* it ſeems is every thing, that will not leave it in Men's Power to *Perſecute others*.

THERE is one Argument offered againſt a *Sacramental Teſt*, by a ſort of Men who are content to be ſtiled of the Church of *England*, who perhaps attend its Service in the Morning, and go with their Wives to a *Conventicle* in the Afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good Doctrine in both. Theſe Men are much offended, that ſo Holy an Inſtitution as that of the Lord's Supper ſhould be made ſubſervient to ſuch Mercenary Purpoſes as the getting of an Employment. Now it ſeems, the Law, concluding all Men to be Members of that Church where they Receive the Sacrament;

and

and ſuppoſing all Men to live like Chriſtians (eſpecially thoſe who are to have Employments) did imagine they received the Sacrament in Courſe about Four times a Year; and therefore only deſired it might appear by Certificate to the Publick, that ſuch who took an Office were Members of the Church Eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary Duty. However, *leſt we ſhould offend them*, we have often deſired they would deal candidly with us: For if the Matter ſtuck only there, we would propoſe it in Parliament, That every Man who takes an Employment, ſhould, inſtead of Receiving the Sacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a Member of the Church of *Ireland* by Law Eſtabliſh'd, with Epiſcopacy, *and ſo forth*; and as they do now in *Scotland*, *to be true to the Kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main Body of the Argument, urge the Hardſhip that Men ſhould be deprived the Liberty of Serving their Queen and Country on account of their Conſcience: And in ſhort, have recourſe to the common Stile of their

half Brethren. Now whether this be a ſincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other Judgment but theirs.

THERE is another Topick of Clamour ſomewhat parallel to the foregoing: It ſeems, by the Teſt Clauſe, the *Military* Officers are obliged to receive the Sacrament as well as the *Civil*. And it is a Matter of ſome Patience, to hear the Diſſenters declaiming upon this Occaſion: They cry they are *Diſarmed*, they are uſed like Papiſts; when an Enemy appears at Home, or from Abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their Throats cut, or be hang'd for High-Treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable Condition! Woeful Dilemma! It is happy for us all, the Pretender was not appriſed of this *Paſſive Presbyterian* Principle, elſe he would have infallibly Landed in our *Northern* Parts, and found them all ſat down in their Formalities, as the *Gauls* did the *Roman* Senators, ready to die with Honour in their Callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their Indignation, we venture to give them Hopes, that

in

in ſuch a Caſe the Government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to Hang them for Defending it againſt the Letter of the Law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lye at our Mercy, but let us Fight our Battels our Selves. Sometimes we offer to get an Act, by which upon all *Popiſh* Inſurrections at Home, or *Popiſh* Invaſion from Abroad, the Government ſhall be empower'd to grant Commiſſions to all Proteſtants whatſoever, without that *Perſecuting* Circumſtance of obliging them to *ſay their Prayers* when they receive the Sacrament; but they abhor all Thoughts of *Occaſional* Commiſſions, they will not do our Drudgery, and we reap the Benefit; It is not worth their while to Fight *pro Aris & Focis*, and they had rather loſe their Eſtates, Liberties, Religion and Lives, than the Pleaſure of *Governing*.

BUT to bring this Diſcourſe towards a Concluſion; If the Diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a *Toleration* by Law as hath been granted them in *England*, I believe the

Majority of both Houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſwade this Houſe of Commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the Truth, we make a mighty difference here between ſuffering *Thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *Poſies*. We are fully convinced in our Conſciences, that *We* ſhall always *Tolerate Them*; but not quite ſo fully that *They* will always *Tolerate Us*, when it comes to their Turn; And *We* are the Majority, and *We* are in Poſſeſſion.

He that Argues in Defence of a Law in Force, not Antiquated or Obſolete, but lately Enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the Dangers he conceives to foreſee in the Abrogation of it.

FOR if the Conſequences of Repealing this Clauſe, ſhould at ſome time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themſelves up into the National Church; inſtead of *uniting* Proteſtants, it would Sow eternal Diviſions

viſions among them. Firſt their own Sects, which now lie Dormant, would be ſoon at Cuffs *again* with each other about Power and Preferment; And the *Diſſenting Epiſcopals*, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a Degree, as upon ſome *fair unhappy* Occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt Loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

NEITHER is it very difficult to conjecture from ſome late Proceedings, at what a rate this *Faction* is like to drive whereever it gets the *Whip* and the *Seat*. They have already ſet up Courts of Spiritual Judicature in open Contempt of the Laws; They ſend *Miſſionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to *Convert* the Church of *England* Folks to *Chriſtianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend Perſons on their Death Beds, and for Purpoſes much alike. And what Practiſes ſuch Principles as theſe (with many others that might be invidious to mention) may Spawn, when they are *laid out to the Sun*, you may determine at Leiſure.

LAST-

LASTLY, whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their Loyalty upon the preſent Foot of Government as you may imagine, their Detractors make a Queſtion, which however, does I think by no means affect the Body of Diſſenters; But the Inſtance produced, is of ſome among their Leading Teachers in the North, who have refuſed the *Abjuration Oath*, yet continue their Preaching, and have abundance of Followers. The Particulars are out of my Head, but the Fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been publiſhed; I think it a Pity it has not been *Remedied.*

THUS I have fairly given you, Sir, my own Opinion, as well as that of a great Majority in both Houſes here, relating to this weighty Affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

*I am with great Reſpect, Sir,*

Dublin, December the 4th. 1708.

*Your*, &c.

*FINIS.*

# VERSES

Wrote in a

## LADY'S *Ivory Table-Book.*

*Anno* 1698.

PERUSE my Leaves thro' ev'ry Part,
And think thou ſeeſt my Owner's Heart,
Scrawl'd o'er with Trifles thus, and quite
As hard, as ſenſleſs, and as light;
Expoſed to every Coxcomb's Eyes,
But hid with Caution from the Wiſe.
Here you may read (*Dear charming Saint*)
Beneath (*A new Receipt for Paint*)
Here in Beau-ſpelling (*tru tel Deth*)
There in her own (*far an el breth*)

Here

Here (*lovely Nymph pronounce my Doom*)
There (*A ſafe way to uſe Perfume*;)
Here a Page fill'd with Billet-Doux:
On t'other ſide (*laid out for Shoes*)
(*Madam, I die without your Grace*)
(Item, *for half a Yard of Lace.*)
Who that had Wit would place it here,
For every peeping Fop to jeer?
To think that your Brains Iſſue is
Expos'd to th' Excrement of his,
In power of Spittle and a Clout
When e're he pleaſe to blot it out;
And then to heighten the Diſgrace,
Clap his own Nonſenſe in the place.
Whoe're expects to holds his part
In ſuch a Book and ſuch a Heart,
If he be Wealthy and a Fool,
Is in all Points the fitteſt Tool;
Of whom it may be juſtly ſaid,
He's a Gold Pencil tipp'd with Lead.

TO

TO THEIR

# EXCELLENCIES

THE

## *Lords Juſtices of* IRELAND.

*The Humble Petition of* Frances Harris,
*Who muſt Starve, and Die a Maid if it miſcarries.*

*Anno* 1700.

*Humbly Sheweth,*

THAT I went to warm my ſelf in Lady *Betty*'s Chamber, becauſe I was cold,

And I had in a Purſe, Seven Pound Four Shillings and Six Pence, beſides Farthings, in Money and Gold;

So becauſe I had been buying things for my *Lady* laſt Night,

I was reſolved to tell my Money, to ſee if it was right:

Now

Now you muſt know, becauſe my Trunk has a very bad Lock,

Therefore all the Money I have, which, *God* knows, is a very ſmall Stock,

I keep in my Pocket ty'd about my Middle, next my Smock:

So when I went to put up my Purſe, as *God* would have it, my Smock was unript,

And, inſtead of putting it into my Pocket, down it ſlipt:

Then the Bell rung, and I went down to put my *Lady* to Bed,

And, *God* knows, I thought my Money was as ſafe as my Maidenhead.

So when I came up again, I found my Pocket feel very light,

But when I ſearch'd, and miſs'd my Purſe, *Lord!* I thought I ſhould have ſunk outright:

*Lord! Madam*, ſays *Mary*, how d'ye do? Indeed, ſays I, never worſe.

But pray, *Mary*, can you tell what I have done with my Purſe!

*Lord*

*Lord* help me, ſaid *Mary*, I never ſtirr'd out of this Place!

Nay, ſaid I, I had it in Lady *Betty*'s Chamber, that's a plain Caſe.

So *Mary* got me to Bed, and cover'd me up warm;

However, ſhe ſtole away my Garters, that I might do my ſelf no Harm:

So I tumbl'd and toſs'd all Night, as you may very well think,

But hardly ever ſet my Eyes together, or ſlept a Wink.

So I was a-dream'd, methought, that we went and ſearch'd the Folks round;

And in a Corner of Mrs. *Duke*'s Box, ty'd in a Rag, the Money was found.

So next Morning we told *Whittle*, and he fell a Swearing:

Then my Dame *Wadgar* came, and ſhe, you know, is thick of Hearing;

*Dame*, ſaid I, as loud as I could bawl, Do you know what a Loſs I have had?

Nay, said he, my Lord * *Calloway*'s Folks are all very sad,

For my Lord † *Dromedary* comes to *Tuesday* without fail;

Pugh! said I, but that's not the Business that I ail.

Says *Cary*, says he, I have been a Servant this Five and Twenty Years, come Spring,

And in all the Places I liv'd, I never heard of such a Thing.

Yes, says the *Steward*, I remember when I was at my Lady *Shrewsbury*'s,

Such a Thing as this happen'd, just about the time of *Goosberries*.

So I went to the Party suspected, and I found her full of Grief;

(Now you must know, of all Things in the World, I hate a Thief.)

However, I was resolv'd to bring the Discourse slily about:

Mrs. *Dukes*, said I, here's an ugly Accident has happen'd out;

---

* *Galway.* † *Drogheda.*

'Tis

'Tis not that I value the Money three skips of a Louſe;

But the Thing I ſtand upon, is the Credit of the Houſe:

'Tis true, Seven Pounds, Four Shillings and Six Pence, makes a great Hole in my Wages;

Beſides, as they ſay, Service is no Inheritance in theſe Ages.

Now, Mrs. *Dukes*, you know, and every body underſtands,

That tho' 'tis hard to judge, yet Money can't go without Hands.

The *Devil* take me, ſaid ſhe, (bleſſing her ſelf) if I ever ſaw't!

So ſhe roar'd like a *Bedlam*, as tho' I had call'd her all to naught:

So, you know, what could I ſay to her any more;

I e'en left her, and came away as wiſe as I was before.

Well: But then they would have had me gone to the Cunning Man;

No, ſaid I, 'tis the ſame thing, the *Chaplain* will be here anon.

So the *Chaplain* came in: Now the Servants ſay, he is my Sweetheart,

Becauſe he's always in my Chamber, and I always take his Part;

So, as the *Devil* would have it, before I was aware, out I blunder'd,

*Parſon*, ſaid I, can you caſt a *Nativity*, when a Body's plunder'd?

(Now you muſt know, he hates to be call'd *Parſon*, like the *Devil.*)

Truly, ſays he, *Mrs. Nab*, it might become you to be more civil:

If your Money be gone, as a Learned *Divine* ſays, d'ye ſee,

You are no *Text* for my Handling, ſo take that from me:

I was never taken for a *Conjurer* before, I'd have you to know.

*Lord*, ſaid I, don't be angry, I am ſure I never thought you ſo;

You know, I honour the Cloth, I deſign to be a *Parſon*'s Wife,

I never took one in *Your Coat* for a *Conjurer* in all my Life.

With

With that, he twisted his Girdle at me like a Rope, as who should say,

Now you may go hang your self for me, and so went away.

Well, I thought I should have swoon'd; *Lord*, said I, what shall I do?

I have lost my *Money*, and shall lose my *True-Love* too.

Then my *Lord* call'd me; *Harry*, said my *Lord*, don't cry,

I'll give something towards thy Loss; and says my *Lady*, so will I.

Oh! but, said I, what if after all my Chaplain won't *come to?*

For that, he said (an't please your *Excellencies*) I must petition You.

The Premises tenderly consider'd, I desire your *Excellencies* Protection,

And that I may have a Share in next *Sunday*'s Collection:

And over and above, that I may have your *Excellencies* Letter,

With an Order for the *Chaplain* aforesaid; or, inſtead of him, a better:

And then your poor *Petitioner*, both Night and Day,

Or the *Chaplain* (for 'tis his *Trade*) as in Duty bound, ſhall ever *Pray*.

*Lady*

## *Lady* B--- B--- *finding in the Author's Room some Verſes unfiniſhed, underwrit a* Stanza *of her own, with Raillery upon him, which gave Occaſion to this Ballad.*

*Auguſt*, 1702.

*To the Tune of the Cutpurſe.*

I.

ONCE on a time, as old Stories rehearſe,
A Friar would needs ſhow his Talent in *Latin*;
But was ſorely put to't in the midſt of a Verſe,
Becauſe he could find no Word to come pat in:
Then at the Place
He left a void Space,
And ſo went to Bed in a deſperate Caſe.

When, behold the next Morning, a wonderful Riddle,
He found it was strangely fill'd in the Middle.

Cho. *Let Cenſuring Critiqs then think what they liſt on't,*
*Who would not write Verſes with ſuch an Aſſiſtant.*

II.

This put me the Friar into an Amazement,
For he wiſely conſider'd it muſt be a Sprite,
That came through the Key-Hole, or in at the Caſement,
And it needs muſt be one that could both Read and Write:
Yet he did not know
If it were Friend or Foe,
Or whether it came from Above or Below.
Howe'er, it was civil in Angel or Elf,
For he ne'er could have fill'd it ſo well of himſelf.

Cho. *Let Cenſuring*, &c.

III. Even

III.

Even ſo Maſter Doctor had puzzled his Brains
In making a Ballad, but was at a Stand;
He had mixt little Wit with a great deal of Pains,
When he found a new Help from Inviſible Hand.

Then good Dr. *S*———
——— Pay Thanks for the Gift,———
For you freely muſt own you were at a dead Liſt;
And tho' ſome malicious young Spirit did do't,
You may know by the Hand, it had no Cloven Foot,

Cho. *Let Cenſuring Criticks then think what they liſt on't,*
*Who would not write Verſes with ſuch an Aſſiſtant.*

*V*——'s

# V——'s Houſe

## *Built from the Ruins of* Whitehall *that was Burnt.*

Written, 1703.

IN Times of *Old*, when Time was *Young*,
And Poets their own Verſes ſung,
A Verſe could draw a Stone or Beam
That now would overload a Team;
Lead 'em a Dance of many a Mile,
Then rear 'em to a goodly Pile.
Each Number had its diff'rent Pow'r;
Heroick Strains could build a Tow'r;
Sonnets, or Elogies to *Chloris*
Might raiſe a Houſe about two Stories;

A Lyrick Ode would Slate; a Catch
Would Tile; an Epigram would Thatch.

BUT, to their own, or Landlord's Coſt,
Now Poets feel this Art is loſt;
Not one of all our tuneful Throng
Can raiſe a Lodging *for a Song*.
For *Jove* conſider'd well the Caſe,
Obſerv'd they grew a num'rous Race.
And ſhould they *Build* as faſt as *Write*,
'Twou'd ruin Undertakers quite.
This Evil therefore to prevent,
He wiſely chang'd their Element:
On Earth, the God of Wealth was made
Sole Patron of the Building Trade,
Leaving the Wits the ſpacious Air
With Licenſe to *build Caſtles* there:
And 'tis conceiv'd, their old Pretence
To lodge in Garrets, comes from thence.

PRE-

PREMISING thus in modern Way
The better Half we had to ſay;
Sing Muſe the Houſe of Poet *V*——
In higher Strains than we began.

*V*—— (for 'tis fit the Reader know it)
Is both a Herald and a Poet,
No wonder then, if nicely ſkill'd
In both Capacities to Build.
As Herald, he can in a Day
Repair a *Houſe* gone to Decay;
Or by *Atchievement*, *Arms*, *Device*,
Erect a new one in a trice.
And as a Poet, he has Skill
To build in Speculation ſtill.
Great *Jove*, he cry'd, the Art reſtore,
To build by Verſe as heretofore,
And make my Muſe the Architect;
What Palaces ſhall we erect!

No

No longer ſhall forſaken *Thames*
Lament his old *Whitehall* in Flames,
A Pile ſhall from its Aſhes riſe
Fit to invade or prop the Skies.

*JOVE* ſmil'd, and like a gentle God,
Conſenting with the uſual Nod,
Told *V*——— he knew his Talent beſt,
And left the Choice to his own Breaſt.
So *V*——— reſolved to write a Farce,
But well perceiving Wit was ſcarce,
With Cunning that Defect ſupplies,
Takes a *French* Play as lawful Prize,
Steals thence his Plot, and ev'ry Joke,
Not once ſuſpecting, *Jove* would *Smoak*,
And (like a Wag) ſat down to write,
Would whiſper to himſelf; *A Bite.*
Then, from the motly mingled Style
Proceeded to erect his Pile:

So

So Men of old, to gain Renown, did
Build *Babel* with their Tongues confounded.
*Jove* ſaw the Cheat, but thought it beſt
To turn the Matter to a Jeſt;
Down from *Olympus* Top he ſlides,
Laughing as if he'd burſt his Sides:
Ay, thought the God, are theſe your Tricks?
Why then, *old Plays* deſerve *old Bricks*,
And ſince you're ſparing of your Stuff,
Your Building ſhall be ſmall enough.
He ſpake, and grudging, lent his Aid;
Th' experienc'd Bricks that knew their Trade,
(As being Bricks at ſecond Hand,)
Now move, and now in Order ſtand.

*THE Building, as the Poet writ,*
*Roſe in Proportion to his Wit:*
*And firſt the Prologue built a Wall*
*So wide as to encompaſs all.*

The

*The Scene, a Wood, produc'd no more*
*Than a few ſcrubby Trees before.*
*The Plot as yet lay deep, and ſo*
*A Cellar next was dug below:*
*But this a Work ſo hard was found,*
*Two Acts it coſt him under Ground.*
*Two other Acts we may preſume*
*Were ſpent in building each a Room;*
*Thus far advanc'd, he made a ſhift*
*To raiſe a Roof with Act the Fifth.*
*The Epilogue behind, did frame*
*A Place not decent here to name.*

NOW Poets from all Quarters ran
To ſee the Houſe of Brother *V*——:
Lookt high and low, walkt often round,
But no ſuch Houſe was to be found:
One asks the Watermen hard by,
*Where may the Poets Palace lie?*

Another

Another, of the *Thames* enquires,
If he has ſeen its gilded Spires.
At length they in the rubbiſh ſpy
A Thing reſembling a Gooſe-Pye:
Farther in haſte the Poets Throng,
And gaze in ſilent Wonder long,
Till one in Raptures thus began
To praiſe the Pile, and Builder *K*——;

THRICE happy Poet, who may trail
Thy Houſe about thee like a Snail;
Or Harneſs'd to a Nag, at eaſe
Take Journies in it like a Chaiſe;
Or in a Boat when e'er thou wilt
Can'ſt make it ſerve thee for a Tilt.
Capacious Houſe! 'tis own'd by all
Thou'rt well contriv'd, tho' thou art ſmall;
For ev'ry Wit in *Britain's* Iſle
May lodge within thy ſpacious Pile.
Like *Bacchus* Thou, as Poets feign,
Thy Mother burnt, art Born again;

Born

Born like a *Phœnix* from the Flame,
But neither *Bulk*, nor *Shape* the ſame:
As Animals of largeſt Size
Corrupt to Maggots, Worms and Flyes.
A Type of *Modern* Wit and Style,
*The Rubbiſh of an Antient Pile.*
So *Chymiſts* boaſt they have a Pow'r,
From the dead Aſhes of a Flow'r,
Some faint Reſemblance to produce,
But not the Virtue, Taſte or Juice.
So *Modern* Rhymers wiſely *Blaſt*
The Poetry of Ages paſt,
Which after they have overthrown,
They from its Ruins build their own.

THE

# DESCRIPTION

OF A

# Salamander.

*Out of* Pliny's *Nat. Hiſt.* L. 10. C. 67. *and* L. 29. C. 4.

*Anno* 1705.

AS Maſtive Dogs in Modern Phraſe are
Call'd *Pompey*, *Scipio*, and *Cæſar*;
As *Pyes* and *Daws* are often ſtil'd
With Chriſtian Nick-names like a Child;
As we ſay *Monſieur* to an *Ape*,
Without Offence to Human Shape;

So

So Men have got from Bird and Brute
Names that would best their Natures suit:
The *Lion*, *Eagle*, *Fox* and *Bear*
Were Heroes Titles heretofore,
Bestow'd as Hieroglyphicks fit
T' express their Valour, Strength or Wit.
For, what is understood by *Fame*
Beside the getting of a Name?
But e'er since Men invented Guns,
A different way their Fancy runs:
To paint a Hero, we enquire
For something that will conquer Fire.
Would you describe *Turenne* or *Trump*,
Think of a Bucket or a Pump.
Are these too low?——then find out Grandeur,
Call my Lord C—— a *Salamander*.
'Tis well.—— But since we live among
Detractors with an evil Tongue,
Who may object against the Term,
*Pliny* shall prove what we affirm:

*Pliny* ſhall prove, and we'll apply,
And I'll be judg'd by Standers-by.

FIRST then, our Author has defin'd
This Reptil, of the Serpent kind;
With gaudy Coat, and ſhining Train,
But loathſome Spots his Body ſtain:
Out from ſome Hole obſcure he flies,
When Rains deſcend, and Tempeſts riſe,
Till the Sun clears the Air; and then
Crawls back neglected to his Den.

SO when the War has rais'd a Storm
I've ſeen a *Snake* in human Form,
All ſtain'd with Infamy and Vice,
Leap from the Dunghill in a trice,
Burniſh and make a gaudy Show,
Become a General, Peer and Beau,

Till

Till Peace hath made the Sky ſerene,
Then ſhrink into it's Hole again.

*All this we grant—why, then look yonder,*
*Sure that muſt be a* Salamander!

FARTHER, we are by *Pliny* told,
This *Serpent* is extreamly cold,
So cold, that put it in the Fire,
'Twill make the very Flames expire
Beſide, it ſpues a filthy Froth,
(Whether thro' Rage, or Love, or both)
Of Matter purulent and white,
Which happen'd on the Skin to light,
And there corrupting to a Wound,
Spreads Leproſy and Baldneſs round.

SO have I ſeen a batter'd Beau,
By Age and Claps grown cold as Snow,
Whoſe Breath or Touch, where-e'er he came,
Blew out Love's Torch, or chill'd the Flame:

And ſhould ſome Nymph who ne'er was cruel,
Like *Carleton* cheap, or fam'd *Durfey*,
Receive the Filth which he ejects,
She ſoon would find the ſame Effects
Her tainted Carcaſe to purſue,
As from the *Salamander's* Spue;
A diſmal Shedding of her Locks,
And, if no Leproſie, a Pox.

*Then I'll appeal to each By-ſtander,*
*Whether this ben't a* Salamander?

# BAUCIS AND PHILEMON.

*Imitated from the Eighth Book of* OVID.

*Written* 1706.

IN Ancient Times, as Story tells,
The Saints would often leave their Cells,
And ſtrole about, but hide their Quality,
To try good People's Hoſpitality.

IT happen'd on a Winter Night,
As Authors of the Legend write,

Two Brother Hermits, Saints by Trade,
Taking their *Tour* in Maſquerade;
Diſguis'd in tatter'd Habits, went
To a ſmall Village down in *Kent*;
Where, in the Strolers Canting Strain,
They begg'd from Door to Door in vain;
Try'd ev'ry Tone might Pity win,
But not a Soul would let them in.

OUR wand'ring Saints in woful State,
Treated at this ungodly Rate;
Having thro' all the Village paſs'd,
To a ſmall Cottage came at laſt;
Where dwelt a good honeſt old Yeoman,
Call'd, in the Neighbourhood, *Philemon*.
Who kindly did the Saints invite
In his poor Hut to paſs the Night;
And then the Hoſpitable Sire
Bid Goody *Baucis* mend the Fire;

While

While He from out of Chimney took
A Flitch of Bacon off the Hook;
And freely from the fatteſt Side
Cut out large Slices to be fry'd:
Then ſtept aſide to fetch 'em Drink,
Fill'd a large Jug up to the Brink;
And ſaw it fairly twice go round:
Yet (what is wonderful) they found
'Twas ſtill repleniſh'd to the Top,
As if they ne'er had touch'd a Drop.
The good old Couple was amaz'd,
And often on each other gaz'd:
For both were frighted to the Heart,
And juſt began to cry; ——What art!
Then ſoftly turn'd aſide to view,
Whether the Lights were burning blue.
The gentle *Pilgrims* ſoon aware on't,
Told 'em their Calling, and their Errant:
Good Folks, you need not be afraid,
We are but *Saints*, the Hermits ſaid;

No Hurt shall come to You, or Yours;
But, for that Pack of churlish Boors,
Not fit to live on Christian Ground,
They and their Houses shall be drown'd:
Whilst you shall see your Cottage rise,
And grow a Church before your Eyes.

THEY scarce had spoke; when fair and soft,
The Roof began to mount aloft;
Aloft rose ev'ry Beam and Rafter,
The heavy Wall climb'd slowly after.

THE Chimney widen'd, and grew higher,
Became a Steeple with a Spire.

THE Kettle to the Top was hoist,
And there stood fasten'd to a Joist:
But with the Upside-down, to shew
Its Inclinations for below:
In vain; for a superior Force
Apply'd at Bottom, stops its Course,

Doom'd ever in Suſpence to dwell,
'Tis now no Kettle, but a Bell.

A wooden Jack, which had almoſt
Loſt, by Diſuſe, the Art to Roaſt,
A ſudden Alteration feels,
Increas'd by new Inteſtine Wheels:
And, what exalts the Wonder more,
The Number made the Motion ſlow'r:
The Flyer, tho't had Leaden Feet,
Turn'd round ſo quick, you ſcarce could ſee't;
But ſlacken'd by ſome ſecret Power,
Now hardly moves an Inch an Hour.
The Jack and Chimney near ally'd,
Had never left each other's Side;
The Chimney to a Steeple grown,
The Jack wou'd not be left alone,
But up againſt the Steeple rear'd,
Became a Clock, and ſtill adher'd:

And ſtill its Love to Houſhold Cares
By a ſhrill Voice at Noon declares,
Warning the Cook-maid, not to burn
That Roaſt-meat which it cannot turn.

THE groaning Chair began to crawl
Like an huge Snail along the Wall;
There ſtuck aloft, in publick View,
And with ſmall Change, a Pulpit grew.

THE Porringers, that in a Row
Hung high, and made a glitt'ring Show,
To a leſs noble Subſtance chang'd,
Were now but Leathern Buckets rang'd.

THE Ballads paſted on the Wall,
Of *Joan* of *France*, and *Engliſh Moll*,
Fair *Roſamond*, and *Robin Hood*,
The *Little Children in the Wood*;
Now ſeem'd to look abundance better,
Improv'd in Picture, Size, and Letter;

And high in Order plac'd, deſcribe
The Heraldry of ev'ry Tribe.

A Bedſtead of the Antique Mode,
Compact of Timber many a Load,
Such as our Anceſtors did uſe,
Was Metamorphos'd into Pews;
Which ſtill their ancient Nature keep,
By lodging Folks diſpos'd to Sleep.

THE Cottage by ſuch Feats as theſe,
Grown to a Church by juſt Degrees,
The Hermits then deſir'd their Hoſt
To ask for what he fancy'd moſt:
*Philemon*, having paus'd awhile,
Return'd 'em Thanks in homely Stile;
Then ſaid, My Houſe is grown ſo fine,
Methinks, I ſtill would call it mine:
I'm Old, and fain would live at Eaſe,
Make me the *Parſon*, if you pleaſe.

He ſpoke, and preſently he feels
His Grazier's Coat fall down his Heels;
He ſees, yet hardly can believe,
About each Arm a Pudding-ſleeve;
His Waſtcoat to a Caſſock grew,
And both aſſum'd a Sable Hue;
But being Old, continu'd juſt
As Thread-bare, and as full of Duſt.
His Talk was now of *Tythes* and *Dues*,
Could ſmoak his Pipe, and read the News;
Knew how to preach old Sermons next,
Vampt in the Preface and the Text;
At Chriſtnings well could act his Part,
And had the Service all by Heart;
Wiſh'd Women might have Children faſt,
And thought whoſe *Sow* had *farrow'd* laſt;
Againſt *Diſſenters* would repine,
And ſtood up firm for *Right Divine*.

Found

Found his Head fill'd with many a System
But Classick Authors——he never miss'd 'em.

THUS having furbish'd up a Parson,
Dame *Baucis* next, they play'd their Farce on.
Instead of Home-spun Coifs were seen,
Good Pinners edg'd with Colberteen:
Her Petticoat transform'd apace,
Became black Sattin flounc'd with Lace.
Plain *Goody* would no longer down,
'Twas *Madam*, in her Grogram Gown.
*Philemon* was in great Surprize,
And hardly could believe his Eyes,
Amaz'd to see her look so Prim,
And she admir'd as much at Him.

THUS, happy in their Change of Life,
Were several Years this Man and Wife,
When on a Day, which prov'd their last,
Discoursing on old Stories past,

They

They went by chance, amidſt their Talk,
To the Church-yard to take a Walk;
When *Baucis* haſtily cry'd out,
My Dear, I ſee your Forehead ſprout.
Sprout, quoth the Man, What's this you tell us?
I hope you don't believe me Jealous:
But yet, methinks, I feel it true;
And re'lly, Yours is budding too——
Nay, ——now I cannot ſtir my Foot:
It feels as if 'twere taking Root.

DESCRIPTION would but tire my Muſe:
In ſhort, they both were turned to *Yews*.
Old Goodman *Dobſon* of the Green
Remembers he the Trees has ſeen;
He'll talk of them from Noon to Night,
And goes with Folks to ſhew the Sight:
On *Sundays*, after Evening Prayer,
He gathers all the Pariſh there;

Points

Points out the Place of either *Yew*;
Here *Baucis*, there *Philemon* grew.
Till once, a Parſon of our Town,
To mend his Barn, cut *Baucis* down;
At which, 'tis hard to be believ'd,
How much the other Tree was griev'd,
Grew Scrubby, dy'd a-top, was ſtunted:
So, the next Parſon ſtubb'd and burnt it.

# TO
# Mrs. *BIDDY FLOYD.*

*Anno* 1708.

WHEN *Cupid* did his Grandſire *Jove* intreat
To form ſome Beauty by a new Receipt,
*Jove* ſent and found far in a Country Scene,
Truth, Innocence, Good Nature, Look ſerene;
From which Ingredients, firſt the dext'rous Boy
Pickt the Demure, the Aukward, and the Coy;
The *Graces* from the Court did next provide
Breeding, and Wit, and Air, and decent Pride;
Theſe *Venus* cleans'd from ev'ry ſpurious Grain
Of Nice, Coquet, Affected, Pert, and Vain.
*Jove* mix'd up all, and his beſt Clay employ'd;
Then call'd the happy Compoſition, *Floyd.*

THE

# THE HISTORY OF *V*——'s HOUSE.

*Anno* 1708.

WHEN Mother *Clud* had roſe from Play
And call'd to take the Cards away;
*V*—— ſaw, but ſeem'd not to regard,
How *Miſs* pick'd ev'ry painted Card;
And buſie both with Hand and Eye,
Soon rear'd a Houſe two Story high;
*V*——'s *Genius* without Thought or Lecture,
Is hugely turn'd to *Architecture*:
He view'd the Edifice, and ſmil'd,
Vow'd it was pretty for a Child;

It was ſo perfect in its Kind,
He kept the *Model* in his Mind.

BUT when he found the Boys at Play,
And ſaw them dabbling in their Clay;
He ſtood behind a Stall to lurk,
And mark the Progreſs of their Work;
With true Delight obſerv'd 'em all
Raking up *Mud* to build a Wall:
The Plan he much admir'd, and took
The *Model* in his Table-Book;
Thought himſelf now exactly skill'd,
And ſo reſolv'd a *Houſe* to build;
A *real Houſe*, and *Rooms* and *Stairs*,
Five times at leaſt as big as theirs;
Taller than *Miſs*'s by two Yards,
Not a ſham Thing of Clay or Cards;
And ſo he did; for in a while,
He built up ſuch a monſtrous Pile,
That no two Chair-men cou'd be found,
Able to lift it from the Ground:

Still

Still at *Whitehall* it ſtands in view,
Juſt in the Place where firſt it grew;
There all the little School-Boys run,
Envying to ſee themſelves out-done.

FROM ſuch deep Rudiments as theſe,
*V*—— is become by due Degrees,
For Building fam'd, and juſtly reckon'd
At Court, *Vitruvius* the *Second*:
No wonder, ſince wiſe *Authors* ſhow,
That *beſt Foundations* muſt be *Low*;
And now the *Duke* has wiſely ta'en him
To be his *Architect* at *Blenheim*:
But Raillery for once apart,
If this Rule holds in ev'ry Art;
Or if his *Grace* were no more skill'd in
The Art of Battering Walls, than Building,
We might expect to ſee next Year,
A *Mouſe-trap* Man, chief Engineer.

A

# *Grubſtreet* ELEGY

On the ſuppoſed Death of

# PARTRIGE

THE

# ALMANACK-MAKER.

*Anno* 1708.

WELL, 'tis as *Bickerſtaff* has gueſt,
Tho' we all took it for a Jeſt:
*Partrige* is Dead, nay more, he died
E'er he could prove the good *Squire* ly'd.
Strange, an Aſtrologer ſhould die,
Without one Wonder in the Sky;

Not

Not one of all his *Crony* Stars,
To pay their Duty at his Hearſe!
No Meteor, no Eclypſe appear'd!
No Comet with a flaming Beard!
The Sun has roſe, and gone to Bed,
Juſt as if *Partrige* were not Dead;
Nor hid himſelf behind the Moon,
To make a dreadful Night at Noon:
He at fit Periods walks through *Aries*,
Howe'er our Earthly Motion varies,
And 'twice a Year he'll cut th' *Æquator*,
As if there had been no ſuch Matter

SOME Wits have wondred what Analogy
There is 'twixt * *Cobbling* and *Aſtrology*;
How *Partrige* made his *Opticks* riſe,
From a *Shoe Sole* to reach the Skies.

A *Liſt* the Coblers Temples ties,
To keep the Hair out of their Eyes;

* Partrige *was a Cobler.*

From whence 'tis plain the *Diadem*
That Princes wear derives from them;
And therefore *Crowns* are now a-days
Adorn'd with *Golden Stars* and *Rays*,
Which plainly ſhews the near Alliance
'Twixt *Cobbling* and the *Planets Science*.

BESIDES, that ſlow-pac'd Sign *Bo-otes*
As 'tis miſcall'd, we know not who 'tis;
But *Partrige* ended all Diſputes,
He knew his Trade, and call'd it † *Boots*.

THE *Horned Moon* which heretofore
Upon their Shoes the *Romans* wore,
Whoſe Wideneſs kept their Toes from Corns,
And whence we claim our *Shooing-Horns*,
Shews how the Art of *Cobbling* bears
A near Reſemblaance to the *Spheres*.

† *See his Almanack.*

A Scrap of *Parchment* hung by *Geometry*,
A great Refinement in *Barometry*;
Can like the Stars foretel the Weather;
And what is *Parchment* elſe but *Leather*?
Which an Aſtrologer might uſe,
Either for *Almanacks* or *Shoes*.

THUS *Partrige*, by his Wit and Parts,
At once did practiſe both theſe Arts:
And as the Boading Owl, (or rather
The Bat, becauſe her Wings are *Leather*)
Steals from her private Cell by Night,
And flies about the Candle-Light;
So Learned *Partrige* could as well
Creep in the Dark from *Leathern* Cell,
And in his Fancy fly as far,
To peep upon a twinkling Star.

BESIDES, he could confound the *Spheres*,
And ſet the *Planets* by the Ears:

To

To ſhew his Skill, he *Mars* would join
To *Venus* in *Aſpect Malin*,
Then call in *Mercury* for Aid,
And cure the Wounds that *Venus* made.

GREAT Scholars have in *Lucian* read,
When *Philip* King of *Greece* was dead,
His *Soul* and *Spirit* did divide,
And each Part took a diff'rent Side;
*One* roſe a Star, the *other fell*
Beneath, and mended Shoes in Hell.

THUS *Partrige* ſtill ſhines in each Art,
The *Cobbling* and *Star-gazing* Part,
And is *Inſtall'd* as good a Star,
As any of the *Cæſars* are.

*TRIUMPHANT* Star! ſome Pity ſhew
On *Coblers Militant* below,
Whom roguiſh Boys in ſtormy Nights
Torment, by piſſing out their Lights;

Or

Or thro' a Chink convey their Smoke,
Inclos'd *Artificers* to Choke.

THOU, high-exalted in thy Sphere,
May'ſt follow ſtill thy Calling there.
To thee the *Bull* will lend his *Hide*,
By *Phœbus* newly Tann'd and Dry'd.
For thee they *Argo*'s Hulk will tax,
And ſcrape her pitchy Sides for *Wax*.
Then *Ariadne* kindly lends
Her braided Hair to make thee *Ends*;
The Point of *Sagittarius* Dart
Turns to an *Awl*, by heavenly Art;
And *Vulcan* wheedled by his Wife,
Will forge for thee a *Paring-Knife*.
For want of room by *Virgo*'s Side,
She'll ſtrain a Point, and ſit * aſtride
To take thee kindly in *between*,
And then the *Signs* will be *Thirteen*.

* Tibi brachia contrahet Ingens Scorpius, &c.

## The EPITAPH.

*HERE, Five Foot deep, lies on his Back*
*A* Cobler, Starmonger, *and* Quack,
*Who to the Stars in pure Good-will,*
*Does to his beſt look upward ſtill.*
*Weep all you Cuſtomers that uſe*
*His* Pills, *his* Almanacks, *or* Shoes.
*And you that did your Fortunes ſeek,*
*Step to his Grave but once a Week,*
*This Earth which bears his Body's Print,*
*You'll find has ſo much Virtue in't,*
*That I durſt pawn my Ears, 'twill tell*
*What e'er concerns you, full as well*
*In* Phyſick, Stolen Goods, *or* Love,
*As he himſelf, could, when above.*

*Apollo*

# *Apollo* Outwitted.

## *To the Honourable Mrs.* FINCH, *under her Name of* Ardelia.

Written 1709.

PHOEBUS now ſhort'ning every Shade,
Up to the Northern *Tropick* came,
And thence beheld a lovely Maid
Attending on a Royal Dame.

THE God laid down his feeble Rays,
Then lighted from his glitt'ring Coach,
But fenc'd his Head with his own Bays
Before he durſt the Nymph approach.

UNDER

UNDER thoſe Sacred Leaves, ſecure
From common Lightning of the Skies,
He fondly thought he might endure
The Flaſhes of *Ardelia's* Eyes.

THE Nymph who oft had read in Books,
Of that bright God whom Bards invoke,
Soon knew *Apollo* by his Looks,
And gueſt his Buſineſs e're he ſpoke.

HE in the old Celeſtial Cant,
Confeſs'd his Flame, and ſwore by *Styx*,
What e're ſhe would deſire, to grant,
But wiſe *Ardelia* knew his Tricks.

*OVID* had warn'd her to beware,
Of ſtroling Gods, whoſe uſual Trade is,
Under pretence of taking Air,
To pick up Sublunary Ladies.

HOW-

HOWE'ER she gave no flat Denial,
As having Malice in her Heart,
And was resolv'd upon a Tryal,
To cheat the God in his own Art.

HEAR my Request, the Virgin said,
Let which I please of all the Nine
Attend when e'er I want their Aid,
Obey my Call, and only mine.

BY Vow oblig'd, by Passion led,
The God could not refuse her Prayer;
He wav'd his Wreath thrice o'er her Head,
Thrice mutter'd something to the Air.

AND now he thought to seize his due,
But she the Charm already try'd,
*Thalia* heard the Call and flew
To wait at bright *Ardelia*'s Side.

ON

ON Sight of this Celeſtial *Prude*,
*Apollo* thought it vain to ſtay,
Nor in her Preſence durſt be rude,
But made his Leg and went away.

HE hop'd to find ſome lucky Hour,
When on their Queen the Muſes wait;
But *Pallas* owns *Ardelia*'s Power,
For Vows Divine are kept by Fate.

THEN full of Rage *Apollo* ſpoke,
Deceitful Nymph, I ſee thy Art,
And tho' I can't my Gift revoke,
I'll diſappoint its nobler Part.

LET ſtubborn Pride poſſeſs thee long,
And be thou negligent of Fame,
With ev'ry Muſe to grace thy Song.
May'ſt thou deſpiſe a Poet's Name.

OF Modeſt Poets thou be firſt,
To ſilent Shades repeat thy Verſe,
Till *Fame* and *Eccho* almoſt burſt,
Yet hardly dare one Line rehearſe.

AND laſt, my Vengeance to compleat,
May you deſcend to take Renown,
Prevail'd on by the Thing you hate,
A —— and one that wears a Gown.

# A DESCRIPTION OF THE MORNING.

*April*, 1709.

NOW hardly here and there an Hackney-Coach
Appearing, ſhow'd the ruddy Morn's Approach.
Now *Betty* from her Maſter's Bed had flown,
And ſoftly ſtole to diſcompoſe her own.
The Slipſhod 'Prentice from his Maſter's Door,
Had par'd the Dirt, and ſprinkled round the Floor.

Now

Now *Moll* had whirl'd her Mop with dext'rous Airs,
Prepar'd to ſcrub the Entry and the Stairs.
The Youth with Broomy Stumps began to trace
The Kennel-Edge, where Wheels had worn the Place.
The Small-coal-Man was heard with Cadence deep,
Till drown'd in ſhriller Notes of Chimney-Sweep:
Duns at his Lordſhip's Gate began to meet,
And Brick-duſt *Moll* had ſcream'd through half the Street.
The Turnkey now his Flock returning ſees,
Duly let out a-Nights to ſteal for Fees.
The watchful Bailiffs take their ſilent Stands,
And School-Boys lag with Satchels in their Hands.

A

# DESCRIPTION

OF A

# CITY SHOWER.

*October*, 1720.

CAREFUL Obſervers may foretel the Hour
(By ſure Prognoſticks) when to dread a Show'r:
While Rain depends, the penſive Cat gives o'er
Her Frolicks, and purſues her Tail no more.
Returning home at Night, you'll find the Sink
Strike your offended Senſe with double Stink.
If you be wiſe, then go not far to Dine,
You'll ſpend in Coach-hire more than ſave in Wine.

A coming

A coming Show'r your ſhooting Corns preſage,
Old Aches throb, your hollow Tooth will rage.
Sauntring in Coffee-houſe is *Dulman* ſeen;
He damns the Climate, and complains of Spleen.

MEAN while the South riſing with dabbled Wings,
A Sable Cloud athwart the Welkin flings,
That ſwill'd more Liquor than it could contain,
And like a Drunkard gives it up again.
Brisk *Suſan* whips her Linen from the Rope,
While the firſt drizzling Show'r is born aſlope,
Such is that ſprinkling which ſome careleſs Quean
Flirts on you from her Mop, but not ſo clean.
You fly, invoke the Gods; then turning, ſtop
To rail; ſhe ſinging, ſtill whirls on her Mop.
Not yet, the Duſt had ſhunn'd th' unequal Strife,
But aided by the Wind, fought ſtill for Life;

And wafted with its Foe by violent Guſt,
'Twas doubtful which was Rain, and which was Duſt.
Ah! where muſt needy Poet ſeek for Aid,
When Duſt and Rain at once his Coat invade;
His only Coat, where Duſt confus'd with Rain,
Roughen the Nap, and leave a mingled Stain.

NOW in contiguous Drops the Flood comes down,
Threat'ning with Deluge this *Devoted* Town.
To Shops in Crouds the daggled Females fly,
Pretend to cheapen Goods, but nothing buy.
The Templer ſpruce, while ev'ry Spout's a-broach,
Stays till 'tis fair, yet ſeems to call a Coach.
The tuck'd-up Sempſtreſs walks with haſty Strides,
While Streams run down her Oil'd Umbrella's Sides.

Here

Here various Kinds by various Fortunes led,
Commence Acquaintance underneath a Shed.
Triumphant Tories, and deſponding Whigs,
Forget their Feuds, and join to ſave their Wigs.
Box'd in a Chair the Beau impatient ſits,
While Spouts run clatt'ring o'er the Roof by Fits;
And ever and anon with frightful Din
The Leather ſounds, he trembles from within.
So when *Troy* Chair-men bore the wooden Steed,
Pregnant with *Greeks*, impatient to be freed;
(Thoſe Bully *Greeks*, who, as the Moderns do,
Inſtead of paying Chair-men, run them thro'.)
*Laocon* ſtruck the Outſide with his Spear,
And each impriſon'd Hero quak'd for Fear.

NOW from all Parts the ſwelling Kennels flow,
And bear their Trophies with them as they go:
Filth of all Hues and Odours ſeem to tell
What Street they ſail'd from, by their Sight and Smell.

They, as each Torrent drives, with rapid Force
From *Smithfield*, or St. *Pulchre*'s ſhape their Courſe,
And in huge Confluent join at *Snow-hill* Ridge,
Fall from the *Conduit* prone to *Holborn-bridge*.
Sweepings from Butchers Stalls, Dung, Guts, and (Blood,
Drown'd Puppies, ſtinking Sprats, all drench'd (in Mud,
Dead Cats and Turnip-tops come tumbling (down the Flood.

*The following Poem being judged by ſome to be after the Author's manner, I have ventured to Print it.*

# THE VIRTUES OF *Sid Hamet* the MAGICIAN'S ROD.

Written 1703.

THE *Rod* was but a harmleſs Wand,
While *Moſes* held it in his Hand,
But ſoon as e'er he *laid it down*,
'Twas a devouring Serpent grown.

OUR

OUR great Magician, *Hamet Sid*,
Reverſes what the Prophet did:
His *Rod* was honeſt *Engliſh* Wood,
That, ſenſleſs, in a Corner ſtood,
Till Metamorphos'd by his Graſp,
It grew an all-devouring Aſp;
Would hiſs, and ſting, and roll, and twiſt,
By the meer Virtue of his Fiſt:
But when he *laid it down*, as quick
Reſum'd the Figure of a Stick.

SO to her Midnight Feaſts the Hag,
Rides on a Broomſtick for a Nag,
That, rais'd by Magick of her Breech,
O'er Sea and Land conveys the Witch;
But, with the Morning-Dawn, reſumes
The Peaceful State of common Brooms.

THEY tell us ſomething ſtrange and odd,
About a certain Magick *Rod*,

That, bending down its Top, divines
When e'er the Soil has golden Mines:
Where there are none, it ſtands erect,
Scorning to ſhow the leaſt Reſpect.
As ready was the *Wand* of *Sid*
To *bend* where *Golden Mines* were hid
In *Scottiſh* Hills found precious Ore,
Where none e'er look'd for it before;
And, by a *gentle Bow*, divin'd
How well a *Cully*'s Purſe was lin'd:
To a forlorn and broken *Rake*,
Stood without Motion, like a Stake.

THE *Rod* of *Hermes* was renown'd
For Charms above and under Ground;
To ſleep could mortal Eye-lids fix,
And drive departed Souls to *Styx*.
That *Rod* was juſt a Type of *Sid*'s,
Which, o'er a *Britiſh* Senate's Lids,

Could

Could *ſcatter Opium* full as well,
And drive as many *Souls to Hell*.

*SID*'s Rod was ſlender, white, and tall,
Which oft he us'd to *fiſh* withal:
A *PLACE* was faſtned to the Hook,
And many Score of *Gudgeons* took;
Yet, ſtill ſo happy was his Fate,
He caught his *Fiſh*, and ſav'd his *Bait*.

*SID*'s Brethren of the conj'ring Tribe
A Circle with their *Rod* deſcribe,
Which proves a Magical Redoubt
To keep *miſchievous Spirits* out;
*Sid*'s *Rod* was of a larger Stride,
And made a Circle thrice as wide,
Where *Spirits* throng'd with hideous Din,
And he ſtood there to *take them in*.
But, when th' enchanted *Rod* was *broke*,
They vaniſh'd in a ſtinking Smoak.

*ACHIL-*

*ACHILLES*'s Scepter was of Wood,
Like *Sid*'s, but nothing near ſo good;
Tho', down from Anceſtors Divine
Tranſmitted to the Heroes Line,
Thence, thro' a long Deſcent of Kings,
Came an Heir-loom, as *Homer* ſings,
Tho' this Deſcription looks ſo big,
That *Scepter* was a ſapleſs Twig:
Which, from the fatal Day when firſt
It left the Foreſt where 'twas nurſt,
As *Homer* tells us o'er and o'er,
Nor Leaf, nor Fruit, nor Bloſſom bore.
*Sid*'s Scepter, full of Juice, did ſhoot
In Golden Boughs, and Golden Fruit,
And He, the *Dragon* never ſleeping,
Guarded each fair *Heſperian* Pippin.
No *Hobby Horſe*, with gorgeous Top,
The deareſt in *Charles Mather*'s Shop,
Or glitt'ring Tinſel of *May-Fair*,
Could with this Rod of *Sid* compare.

DEAR

DEAR *Sid*, then why wer't thou ſo mad,
To break thy *Rod* like naughty Lad?
You ſhould have kiſs'd it in your Diſtreſs,
And then return'd it to *your Miſtreſs*;
Or make it a *Newmarket* Switch,
And not a *Rod* for thy own Breech.
For ſince old *Sid* has broken this,
His next will be a *Rod in Piſs*.

*FINIS.*